

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF THE PHILIPPINES

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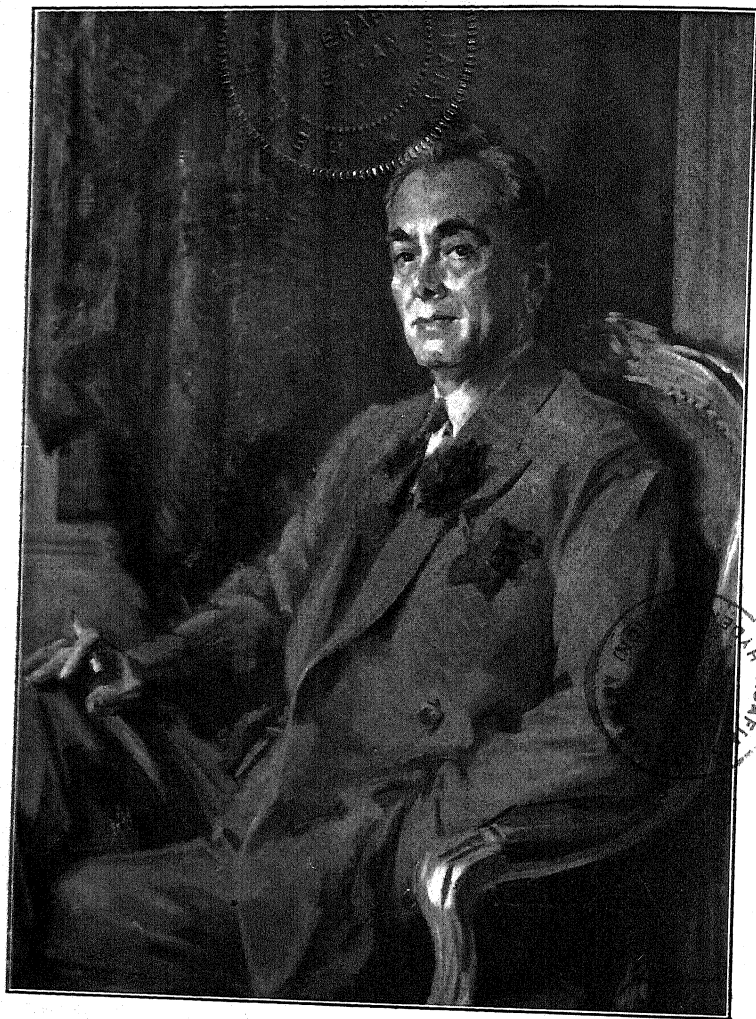
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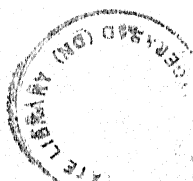
HIS EXCELLENCY MANUEL L. QUEZON,
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES
From a painting by Leon Gordon.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

By
GEORGE A. MALCOLM
*Senior Justice of the Supreme Court
of the Philippines*

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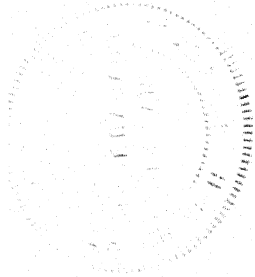
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Philippines - History
" - Culture

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TO
THE FILIPINO PEOPLE
IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF FRIENDLY ASSOCIATIONS

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PREFACE

MORE than a quarter of a century ago I began to acquaint myself with things Philippine, including the reading of the books dealing with these Islands. Once in the course of this mental orgy I started to take stock and to count the works I had read, but on getting well up into the hundreds I gave it up as a profitless task. Now, I ask my inner conscience, why still other pages of printed paper to add to the written record of the Philippines? So just a word of explanation and mayhap apology.

In perfecting my study of the governmental side of the Philippines, I have been guilty of producing books with the principal aim of encouraging others to develop a virgin field. With the approval of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law by the Congress of the United States and of a Constitution by the Philippine Constitutional Convention, this material will in the main be wasted. So why not make use of what is still pertinent, with additions thereto of the newer phases, to tell about the Commonwealth and prospective Republic which has been established under American auspices in the Orient? Surely it is deserving of description.

If you have perused the works on the Philippines, you will have been impressed by one outstanding feature in most of them—a predetermined point of view must be maintained and fortified at all cost. Frankly, I am sympathetic to the Filipinos, but it is, I hope, a sympathy born of understanding to be weighted in the balance, just as for the last eighteen years in my judicial office I have weighed the facts and applied the law. So I propose to be fair—ruggedly fair—and honest, not sensational.

As I do not trust second-hand accounts, or even my own memory, and as I desire this volume to record facts accurately, I have had every passage read and checked by a recognized authority. Whenever I have been aided by some especially pat reference or whenever I have run across a helpful book which is little known to the general public, proper citation to it is made. The manuscript has also been critically examined by my journalistic friends F. Theo Rogers of the *Philippines Free Press* and Carlos P. Romulo, publisher of the D-M-H-M papers; their blue pencils spared neither my manuscript nor my feelings. But for the opinions expressed in this book, I am alone responsible. My secretary, Edilberto Soriano, has uncomplainingly carried the burden of preparing the copy. To all who helped I make this expression of thanks.

GEORGE A. MALCOLM

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OF THE PHILIPPINES

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CHAPTER I

THE PHILIPPINES

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILIPPINES

A FAVORITE pastime on a transpacific liner from the United States or Canada to Japan, China, and the Philippines is for the old-timer to get the newcomers in a corner of the smoking-room and regale them with tales of the Philippines. The fancy-dress ball is over, the excitement of the sports events has paled, the credulous old lady has feverishly written her last letter to be posted when the ship stops at the 180th meridian, the gossiping tongues of the passengers have grown tired, all are content to rest—then is the time for the hoary-haired raconteur to take the spotlight. His hearers are forced to listen to a narration of soldier exploits, perhaps of a Moro *juramentado* running *amuck* and leaving a gory path of death until, when shot down, he passes into his Mohammedan paradise to live in glory attended by bevvies of wives. They are told of a steady diet of rice and fish, of cholera epidemics, of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, of exotic alcoholic beverages, of betelnut-chewing maidens, of the Igorot dog-eaters, of destructive typhoons, and of fearful earthquakes.

Now the story-teller may be without malice, and his own hale and prosperous appearance may belie his tales, but the

listener, who mayhap has read a sensational book or article presenting the bizarre in vivid colors prepared after a few days or weeks in the Philippines, and who cannot differentiate fact from fancy, and the present from the past, is duly and fearsomely impressed. Indeed many tourists there are who pass up the Philippines entirely, either because believed to be uninteresting or because of dread of hardships. Even those who continue on to the Islands entertain curious notions. I know I did when as a callow graduate of the University of Michigan I first came to the Philippines years ago.

Leaving behind San Francisco, earthquake-racked and fire-devastated, I had taken ship on the Army Transport *Logan*—not that I had any particular right to a berth, for no position awaited me in the Philippines, and less than ten dollars jingled in my pockets, but there I had contrived to be, and it was all a grand adventure. At Honolulu the *Logan* gained in prestige when it picked up General James F. Smith, who was going over to be Governor-General, and Hon. Newton W. Gilbert, appointed Judge of First Instance, later to be Vice Governor and Acting Governor-General. Like nearly every prospective visitor, I was treated to a many-coursed menu of stock stories of the unbearable heat and the general dreary dead level of death and disease that follows in the wake of the pestilential climate. Misleading statements they were—misleading because only partially true—that have gained currency. I was prepared for the worst. Nor was I alone in my ignorance. A distinguished couple on board were bringing an American bed, thinking no beds could be had in Manila. A Yankee school-teacher later surprised an astonished customs inspector in Manila who opened his trunk to find it filled with potatoes. That pedagogue did not intend to forego his Idahoes—not he.

As the *Logan* came into Manila Bay in the dusk of an afternoon of September, 1906, too late for quarantine, I gazed with mingled feelings of uneasiness and anticipation

at Manila. Lights twinkled here and there, the dim outlines of buildings could be distinguished, but mostly it was darkness. Little did I then imagine that Manila was to be my home for thirty years, that I was really to live there and live contentedly, and that lasting friendships with Filipinos, Americans, and other nationals were to be formed. Yet that is exactly what happened.

So let me try and give you the truth about the Philippines and the Filipinos as they are today. And the truth is that the Philippines, like every other land, has its good and bad side, and that the Filipinos have their good and bad points.

THE PHILIPPINES LOCATED ON THE MAP ¹

The average American has a very hazy idea of the geographical location of the Philippine Islands. He is apt to confuse them with the Hawaiian Islands and thinks them possibly a five-day journey from San Francisco. He even places the Philippine Islands in the Caribbean Sea somewhere in the West Indies near Cuba, instead of in the East Indies near Borneo. Returning residents of the Philippines report amusing experiences of this nature.

Once when I attended a class reunion, a learned law graduate asked me, "Malcolm, where did you come from?"

"The Philippines," I replied.

"And how is everything in Panama?"

Once also in the Presidential offices in Washington, I was confused with someone else in the Virgin Islands.

Ignorance regarding the Philippines is readily understandable. Before the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Philippines was to the United States a *terra incognita*, not even a geographical expression. American relations with the Philippines had been confined to desultory commerce carried on by

¹ Section read by Capt. E. H. Pagenhart, Director of Coast Surveys. See *Van Loon's Geography* (1932), Ch. XL.

clipper ships which occasionally came into the port of Manila, the trade that had been fostered by two American houses before they were forced out of business, having an American Consul at Manila, and a little-known treaty entered into by Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy and "Mohamed, Sultan of Sooloo" on February 5, 1842. When Commodore George Dewey was appointed commander of the Asiatic Squadron of the United States Navy, he found that the latest official report relative to the Philippines on file in the office of naval intelligence bore the date of 1876. Senator Williams of Mississippi enjoyed telling how, as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Relations during the Spanish-American War, it was one of his arduous tasks to climb upon a stool and point out the Islands on the map for the benefit of his colleagues. The ignorance was reciprocal, for the average Filipino knew just as little about the "North Americans," as they were called, as the Americans did about the "Philipinos."

It is not that the Philippines has suffered from lack of attention. The literature on the Islands is amazing in extent. Missions—the disrespectful call them junkets—have come and gone: American missions to the Philippines to investigate conditions and render reports, Filipino missions to the United States to plead for independence and render reports. But the world has passed by the books and reports unheeded and has remained as uninformed as before.

Fortunately, in the course of time the Americans have learned more of the Philippines, and the Filipinos more of the United States. The agitation for Philippine independence has focused public attention on American relations in the Far East. The American farmer may not be strong on geography, but he is interested when he learns that the free entry of Philippine sugar and coconut products affects his income. The efforts of well-known Americans who have lived in Mala-

cañan Palace and of the Philippine Tourist Association have done much to acquaint the world with the facts about the Philippine Islands. Returning Filipino students and travelers from the United States have disabused the Philippine public of false notions regarding the United States and the Americans.

Now let us get the matter straight. And first the name "The Philippines" or "The Philippine Islands." Ferdinand Magellan called the land that he discovered "Saint Lazarus," but afterwards the archipelago was christened "Felipinas" (Philippines) in honor "of our fortunate Prince" Philip, Prince of Asturias, later King Philip II of Spain. The names Philippines or Philippine Islands have since been accepted by everyone.

Next a word about the islands composing the Philippines. According to the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the total number of islands and islets is 7,083, of which 1,095 are large and fertile enough to be inhabited. No other archipelago contains as many islands so compactly grouped. The two large islands are Luzon and Mindanao, with areas of 40,814 square miles and 36,906 square miles respectively.

Finally, a lesson in geography. The Philippine Archipelago lies southeast of Asia and for a thousand miles and more fronts on the coast of Asia. Roughly, the Islands are bounded on the north by the Empire of Japan, on the east by the Pacific Ocean, the nearest land in this direction being the Palau Islands, on the south by Borneo and the Celebes Islands, and on the west by the China Sea, the southern provinces of China, the British colony of Hongkong, and French Indo-China. The most northerly island of the archipelago is but sixty-one miles from Japan's Sho Antau Su Island, lying east of Japanese Formosa, now Taiwan, which may be seen from the Philippines on a clear day. Along its southern boundary are islands which lie within a short one mile of the nearest

British territory and forty-three miles of the nearest Dutch territory.² Sibutu in the Sulu Archipelago of the Philippines is just north of the equator and but a step from Borneo. Parenthetically it may be interpolated that scientists believe that the Philippines must have been connected at some time by land with Borneo and Formosa, and these in turn, like the Japanese Islands, must have been connected with the mainland of Asia.

From the Philippines to Hongkong direct is six hundred thirty miles, and from the Philippines by way of the usual ports of call to San Francisco is eight thousand and ninety-four miles. The voyage from San Francisco to Manila is one of three weeks' duration. Giant airway clippers starting at San Francisco and calling at Honolulu, Midway, Wake, and Guam before reaching Manila, have shortened the trip to a few days.

The boundaries of the Philippine Archipelago are those set forth in Article III of the Treaty of Peace concluded between the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, together with the group of islands known as Cagayan Sulu and Sibutu, lying off the north coast of Borneo, embraced in the treaty between the United States and Spain of November 7, 1900. Recently the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague awarded the little island of Palmas to the Netherlands, and the United States and Great Britain entered into a convention by which the latter country relinquished claim to the Turtle Islands and the Mangsee Islands, situated between North Borneo and Sulu.

² Shortest distances from Philippine Islands territory to foreign territory, scaled January 26, 1935, from best available charts, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Manila Field Station:

Great Bakkungaan Island to Little Bakkungaan (British), 1.4 statute miles.

Great Bakkungaan Island to Borneo Mainland (British), 11.3 statute miles.

Y² Ami Island to Sho Antau Su (Japanese), 61.4 statute miles.

Balut Island to Ariaga Island (Dutch), 43.1 statute miles.

PHYSICAL FEATURES³

The Philippines contains a land area of 114,400 square miles. This exceeds the combined areas of the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, is slightly less than the area of the British Isles and the area of Italy, and is considerably smaller than Japan. In point of area the Philippines ranks fifteenth among the nations of the world.

The salient characteristics of the Philippine Archipelago have been outlined as follows: (1) The rugged and irregular features of the islands; (2) the fertility of the soil; (3) the great extent of coast line which is twice as long as that of continental United States; (4) the mountainous character of the country, with the mountain ranges generally following the coast; (5) the relatively few large rivers; and (6) the number of active and dormant volcanoes. Generally speaking, the prevailing physical features are heavily forested mountain ranges with alternating valleys or plains.

The mountains rise to considerable elevations. Mount Apo in Mindanao is nearly ten thousand feet in height, and Mount Pulog in northern Luzon is only slightly less in height. While the highest peaks in the Philippines fall short of the elevations of mountains in other parts of the world, it should be noted that Philippine mountain ranges rise more or less abruptly from the seashore and therefore present a striking picture of contrasting elevations and of ruggedness. Great ocean depths, called "deeps," are found in many sections within or bordering the archipelago. The greatest known ocean depth in the world is situated in the famous "Philippine Deep," only forty-five miles to the eastward of northern Mindanao.

The two best-known volcanoes are Taal Volcano, located in

³ Section read by Capt. E. H. Pagenhart, Director of Coast Surveys, and Father Miguel Selga, S.J., Director of the Weather Bureau.

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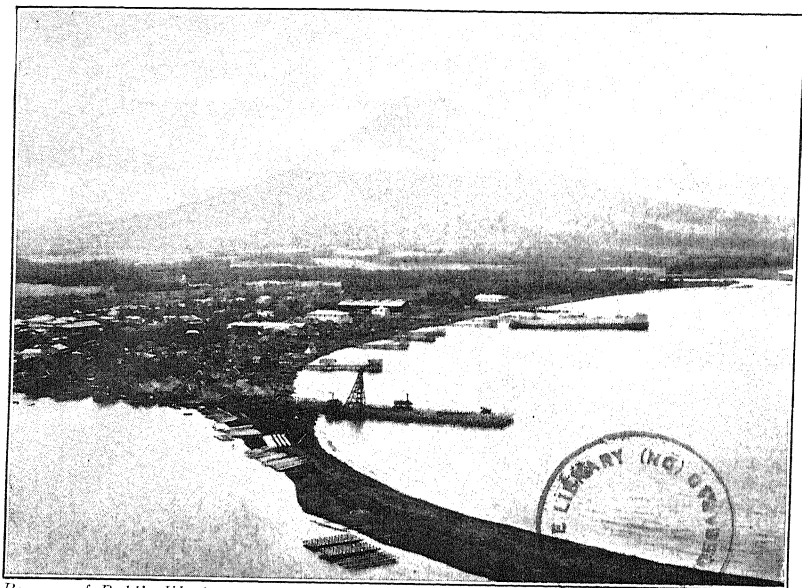
Taal Lake, about two hours by automobile from Manila, and Mayon Volcano, located on the southern end of the Island of Luzon. The first is said to be the lowest volcano in the world, and the second is supposed to possess the most symmetrically beautiful volcanic cone in the world. Taal Volcano was last in eruption in 1911, when it eclipsed all previous records by putting on a pyrotechnic display of vast proportions and causing great loss of life. Mount Mayon, with a base eighty miles in circumference, sweeps up sheer from the seashore and a large cultivated plain to an elevation of eight thousand feet, and occasionally shows signs of activity. When Mayon was in eruption in 1928, it was estimated by government observers that the vapor column reached a height of twenty miles.

The City of Manila is located on Manila Bay, large in extent and furnishing unlimited anchorage; still further protected from the elements by extensive sea walls is the harbor, inside of which all ships discharge. The entrance into Manila Bay is divided by the Islands of Caballo and Corregidor into two channels, known as the North and South Channels. The Pasig River, which flows from the Laguna de Bay through the center of the City of Manila to empty into Manila Bay, is a short but economically important waterway. On the western coast of the Island of Palawan an underground river, one of the physical wonders of the world, flows into the sea. From whence it comes no one as yet knows, and it enjoys an evil reputation.

CLIMATE ⁴

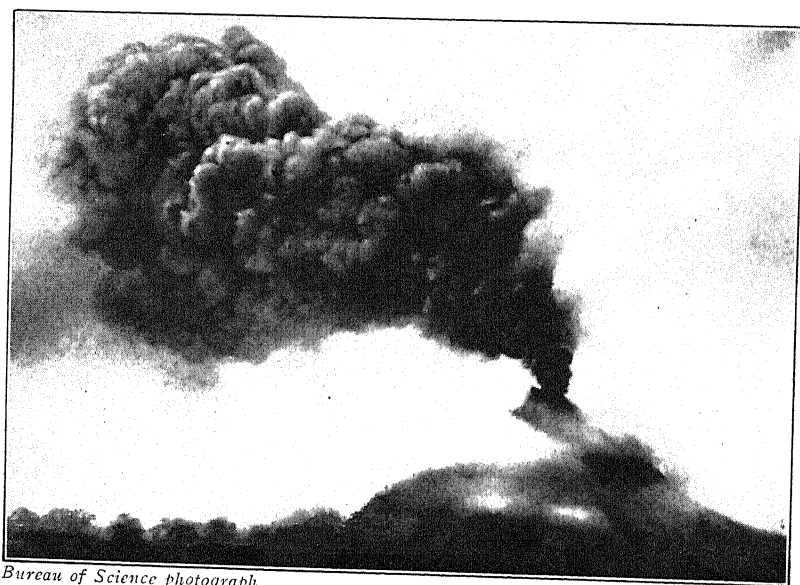
The common belief that the heat in the Philippines is unbearable does not accord with the facts. The torrid temperatures experienced in New York and Washington during a hot

⁴ Section read by Father Miguel Selga, S.J., Director of the Weather Bureau. See Rev. Jose Coronas, S.J., *The Climate and Weather of the Philippine Islands* (1920).



Bureau of Public Works photograph

PORT OF LEGASPI, ALBAY PROVINCE, AND THE MAYON VOLCANO



Bureau of Science photograph

MAYON VOLCANO IN ERUPTION

Puffing like a gigantic locomotive, July 23, 1928.

spell are never approached in the Philippines. The highest temperature ever recorded in Manila was 103.5° F., and this was in May, 1878; again in May, 1912, and in April and May, 1915, the mercury shot past the 100° F. mark. But these records were so exceptional as to draw newspaper comment.

The Philippine Islands are entirely within the tropic zone. Nevertheless, in the lowlands the climate is merely mildly tropical; and in the higher altitudes in the mountains the air is cool and bracing. Manila, chiefly on account of its ideal situation, has an equable climate. The mean average daily temperature of Manila is 79.9° F. Rarely does the thermometer go below 60° F., but on the other hand just as rarely does it pass the 100° F. mark. Invariably the nights are sufficiently cool for refreshing sleep. The land around Lake Lanao and the uplands of Bukidnon, in Mindanao, and the high plateaus in Northern Luzon represent types of agreeable mountain climates of the Philippines. Yet, of course, snow is unknown, and frost and ice occur only on the highest mountain peaks. Broadly—and truthfully—speaking, the climate of the Philippines is the most healthful and comfortable of any portion of the tropics inhabited by man.

The year is popularly divided into three seasons. There is the hot season, which begins about the fifteenth of March and lasts until about the middle of June, when the rainy season starts, to be followed about the first of October by the cool season of five months' duration. April and May are the hottest, and August and September the most humid months. Even then the heat is never extreme and sunstroke is unknown.

The rainfall is heavy. In certain regions it amounts to as much as two hundred and fifty inches annually. The world record for a twenty-four-hour rainfall is forty-six inches, and occurred on July 14-15, 1911, at Baguio, the mountain resort in the Philippines.

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The islands, excepting the southern portion, are in the typhoon belt. The typhoon appears to be a phenomenon peculiar to the waters in and about the Philippine Archipelago. A destructive typhoon, like a destructive cyclone, is a great calamity causing terrible disasters on land and sea and enormous material damage. On the other hand, depressions and ordinary typhoons, owing to the beneficial rains they produce, are often rather a blessing to the island than otherwise.

The Philippines is situated in the seismic belt, but certain islands, as Bohol and Palawan, have been proved to be relatively earthquake-immune areas. In Manila the average of seismic disturbances throughout a long course of years has been one a month, but of the feeble tremors only slight notice is taken by the people. The most devastating earthquake was the one which occurred on June 3, 1863, which demolished the Cathedral, the palace of the Governor-General, and other public buildings in Manila.

Fortunately for the Philippines, weather forecasts are made accurately by the Weather Bureau. The Manila Observatory, the central office of the Weather Bureau, was founded by the Jesuit Order in 1865. Notable scientists, including Father Federico Faura and Father Jose Algue, have been in charge of it; their contributions to meteorology brought them international renown. The Philippine Government very wisely retained the Jesuit Fathers to supervise the functions of the Weather Bureau.

LIFE IN THE PHILIPPINE TROPICS ⁵

If the reader retains a picture of Americans in the tropics fostered by movie films, sweltering in terrific heat and wearing *à la* Stanley in Africa a cork helmet, or if he has a vision of scantily clad maidens doing a *hula* in the moonlight, let

⁵ Section read by Mr. Walter Robb, Editor of the American Chamber of Commerce Journal.

him get these notions out of his head. The Philippines is not India, where a helmet or double felt hats are vital necessities to give protection from the rays of the sun. The Philippines is not Hawaii, where native dances are arranged for the edification of the tourists. Life in the Philippines runs along different, if less romantic, channels.

The Americans in the early days suffered real hardships in the Philippines. A teacher would be directed to proceed to a remote municipality and organize a school, and living conditions under such handicaps were not easy. Now Americans can live very comfortably, especially in Manila and the larger towns, possibly as comfortably as anywhere in the world. The houses are either the old-type Spanish architecture of two stories, with wide shell-covered windows and roofs of galvanized iron, or are the typical American bungalows. As varied a supply of food can be had as anywhere, for modern refrigeration brings in meat and butter from Australia, vegetables from Japan, and standard products from the United States, and adding to these the native produce, no one should suffer from lack of eatables. The servant problem is no problem at all, except in the trial of patience. White clothes are worn by the men and summer apparel by the women. Then during the hot season the mountain resort of Baguio is available, or trips can be taken to similar places in Java and Japan.

If under such ideal conditions, Mr. American and Mrs. American get snobbish, they should be forgiven. Perhaps he or she comes from a small village in the United States and has lived there as do ordinary Americans. All at once they find themselves in the Philippines, the man working in an office where he is treated with unusual respect, and the woman with leisure on her hands. They reside in a large house, own an expensive automobile, and have plenty of servants, including a chauffeur, a cook, a *lavandera* (laundress), an *amah* (a nurse for the baby), a houseboy, and a gardener, to attend to their slightest wants. The "chit" system permits them to sign

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for anything from a spool of thread to a diamond ring. If the head swells somewhat, or if the ego is over-developed, it is but a natural illusion of grandeur which invariably appears under such circumstances.

Social life is the same as in the United States, only more spirited. The days are made up of one continuous procession of bridge parties, teas, receptions, dinners, and dances. The social lines are more or less elastic, but occasionally are definitely drawn.

The Philippine Four Hundred is determined by what has been called the license-plate aristocracy. Automobile numbers are given out, number 1 formerly to the Governor-General, number 2 to the President of the Senate, and so on down the list. The earnest endeavor of all is to secure a low number. The Vice Governor (not the most recent one) scaled the social heights by usurping the Governor-General's number 1 with a letter added. Even the venerable Supreme Court Magistrates, chagrined at having numbers larger than all of the many legislators, hit on the scheme of using the Chief Justice's number 5. A national crisis was narrowly averted when the Speaker and Speaker *Pro Tempore* of the House of Representatives clashed over the use of plate number 3. The policeman's salute is accepted with smug humility; the occupant of the low-numbered car gives a condescending nod, his soul flooding with the glowing warmth of egotism.

The American family not only lives comfortably but pleasantly. There are the clubs, where cocktails can be taken and friends can be met, there are sports, like polo, tennis, and golf, and there are theaters, where the latest talkie and occasionally grand opera can be enjoyed. Thus plenty of recreation is available.

Some Filipino families live on a magnificent scale. Their homes are large and elegantly furnished with antique furniture or importations from China and Europe. Their servants are practically numberless and are paid much less than the

American pays his help. Most Filipinos, however, are forced to live on a lower scale, in nipa-thatched houses, with good and substantial food consisting principally of rice. With friendly neighbors, life moves on smoothly for them.

So waste no pity on the poor American doomed to a dreary existence in the Oriental Seas, and forget your sympathy over the plight of the poor Filipino who has been placed by fate in the Philippines. Rather envy the lucky American and the lucky Filipino who are privileged to live so well and comfortably in the Philippine tropics—verily and truly a twentieth-century paradise.

ATTRACTIONS FOR THE VISITOR ⁶

The traveller entering the wide expanse of Manila Bay is coming to a happy and pleasant land. Sailing by Mount Mariveles, the headland at the north of the Bay entrance, he sees Corregidor, called the Island Gibraltar, and Cavite, the United States Naval Station; his ship comes to anchor just outside the breakwater which protects the waterfront of Manila. From the ship can be seen vessels flying the flags of nearly every nation, the domes and spires of churches, and the Luneta with its modern clubs and hotels. He steps ashore on to Pier 7, as large and fine a pier as can be found anywhere. On landing he notices that the familiar coolies and *jinrikishas* of other oriental countries are not in evidence, but that the ubiquitous drivers of the horse-drawn *carromatas* and the chauffeurs of taxis are omnipresent. English, somewhat Filipinoized to be sure, is used.

Manila, the largest city in the Islands, is toured in a vehicle which keeps to the left, and is found to be a combination of the old and the new. The Walled City, reputed the best example in the world of medieval construction, will reward a

⁶ Section read by Mr. Walter Robb, Editor of the American Chamber of Commerce Journal.

visit even by the seasoned traveller. Possibly the visitor is interested in seeing the stately Cathedral with its beautifully grouped pillars. Outside the Walled City perhaps the University of Santo Tomas is visited and found to be the oldest university ever under the American flag, or it may be that the tourist prefers to inspect a sanitary cigar and cigarette factory, or to attend retreat in Bilibid Prison. The cosmopolitan population and the general cleanliness of the people will be noticed in marked contrast to some nearby lands. And in late afternoon, while the world-famous Constabulary Band plays on the Luneta, comes the indescribably gorgeous sunset over Manila Bay, painting a flaming background for mountains and sea.

Good automobile roads, an air-conditioned car of the Manila Railroad, or a modern plane manned by an experienced pilot, will take the traveller north from Manila to Baguio, the summer capital, nestling over five thousand feet above sea-level in pine-clad mountains. After having to acknowledge that blankets in Baguio are a necessity, and after tramping over the verdant hills, playing a round of golf, or sauntering through the native market, reluctant departure for even higher regions may be taken. On the way the wonderful rice terraces of the Ifugaos, begun long before the Spaniards or Americans came to the Islands and one of the scenic wonders of the world, draw forth admiration for native ingenuity and culture.

South from Manila the traveller goes through coconut groves to the exquisite little city of Pagsanjan to get the thrill of a lifetime in shooting the rapids, or again, still in the Island of Luzon, through the hemp region to Mount Mayon, whose beautiful volcanic cone is unexcelled by any and equalled only in loveliness by the far-famed Fujiyama of Japan. Returning to Manila, comfortable ships or passenger planes are taken to the city of Iloilo, the center of the sugar region, and known to American ladies as the place that produces the exquisite jusi and piña cloth; Zamboanga, the beautiful capital

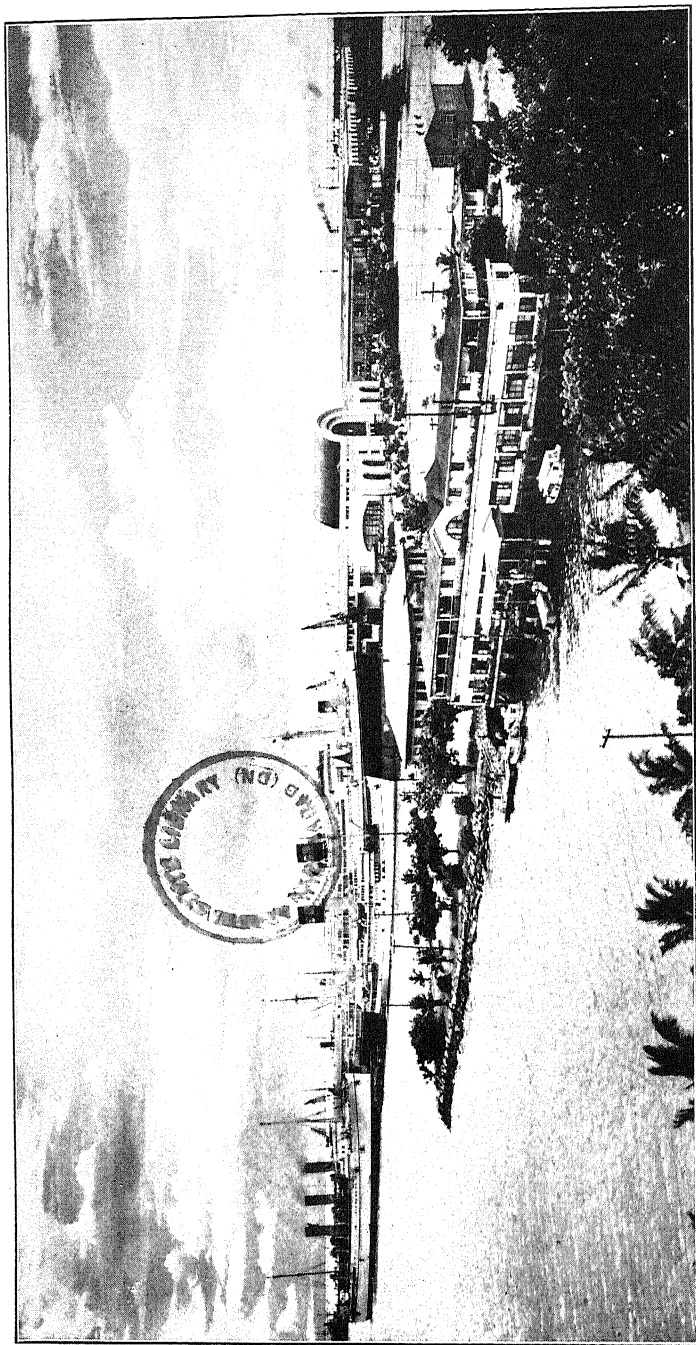


Photo Finishing Corporation

PIER 7, MANILA

Which "Believe It or Not" Ripley notes is "the longest and finest covered pier under the American Flag."

of Moroland; Davao, the Japanese-developed city of south-eastern Mindanao, and then Cebu, the second largest city in the Islands. The fishing fields and marine gardens on the way entice one to stay longer, while the forests with their great trees cannot but impress. And all the time the traveller delights in the people, the school-children speaking an English *patois*, the peaceful elders never failing to display hospitality, and the picturesque non-Christians. The Philippines has much to offer the vacationist.

The natural beauties of the Islands have been a constant inspiration to guests who have enjoyed the matchless hospitality of the Filipino people. For instance, the much-travelled A. Henry Savage Landor in beginning his work, *The Gems of the East*, speaks of the Philippines as "a most enchanting country, a land full of weird surprises, of magnificent scenery and ideal vegetation, with an assortment of delightful people." In conclusion he states: "I may say that in some eighteen years' travelling I have never enjoyed and been interested more than I was in the journey (over 16,000 miles) over these most enchanting Islands—really and truly, to any one with an unbiased mind, 'the gems of the East.'"

With real regret will the visitor take ship to leave the Philippines, vowing soon to return to make another and more extended visit.

POPULATION ⁷

The population of the Philippines is easily 14,000,000. Compared with the hordes of China or the millions of Japan, the number of inhabitants of the Philippines is small. The

⁷ Section read by Dr. Jose Guidote, Chief, Section of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of Health. Dr. Guidote estimates the population of the Philippines, as of July 1, 1934, at 12,929,526. Dr. Trinidad J. Jaramillo, Assistant Statistician, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, estimates the population of the Philippines as of 1936 at 13,476,488, but other estimates, even those of the same department, are considerably higher. See *Census of the Philippine Islands* (1918), six volumes, and *The Philippine Statistical Review*, first quarter, 1934, p. 32.

Philippine population is, however, greater than that of any state of the American Union except New York, which it equals. It exceeds that of most of the independent countries of Europe and the Americas.

The population of the Islands has shown a steady increase. At the time of the conquest of the Philippines by the Spaniards in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the number of people in the Islands was estimated at half a million. After American occupation, the first official census in 1903 gave the population as 7,635,426. Again in 1918 another census was taken and it was found that there were 10,314,310 persons in the Philippines. It is the consensus of authoritative opinion, as before indicated, that the Philippines in 1936 is approaching the 14,000,000 mark.

The density of the population of the Philippines is over one hundred to the square mile. This means that the Philippines as a whole is but sparsely inhabited. Certain regions, like the section adjacent to Manila, the Island of Cebu, and the Ilocano provinces in the northwestern part of the Island of Luzon, are densely populated. Other regions, like the great Island of Mindanao, except in spots, are thinly populated. A steady flow of immigrants to newly opened districts is taking place and is being encouraged by the authorities. In the Province of Nueva Ecija and elsewhere, this policy has given rise to land troubles. An alleged owner suddenly realizes that land which he has never cultivated and to which he possesses at most only a shadowy title is now valuable and that homesteaders are upon it. Result, bloody encounters and long-drawn-out legal battles.

Various estimates of the number of inhabitants that the Philippines of the future could sustain have been made. From the agricultural standpoint, according to the last census, the Philippines is capable of supporting a population of 80,000,000, and on this basis, and if imbued with sufficient optimism, we can look forward to a Philippines with 100,000,000 in-

habitants. More conservative investigators agree that the Philippines is capable of supporting a population of 50,000,000, and this figure seems more reasonably in accord with probabilities in the near future.

The Philippine population is a cosmopolitan one. Americans, not including the Army and Navy, number 6,740. Foreigners, including the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Spaniards, who have the largest communities, total 105,000. But the main elements in the population, generally but mistakenly classified by religion, are the Christians, who are the Filipinos proper, and the non-Christians who include the Moros and Pagans. These peoples will be described in the two succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE¹

ORIGIN, LEGENDARY AND SCIENTIFIC²

THE people," wrote Mencius, the Chinese sage, "are the most important element in a nation; the spirit of the land and grain are next; the sovereign is the least in importance." And it is of the people—the Filipino people—their origin, nationality, social system, and characteristics that I would write.

A northern legend in the Philippines and one quite similar in the southern islands purports to tell how man was created. A very long time ago—so the tale runs—a god and a goddess inhabited the earth, and becoming lonesome took clay, moulded it, and baked it. At the first attempt the inexperienced deities baked the clay too long. At the second attempt, becoming over-cautious, they did not bake it long enough. But at the third attempt the clay was baked just right. When life was breathed into the figures, they became the black race, the white race, and the brown race. The Filipinos belonging to the brown race were thus the perfect product of the gods.

The anthropologists and ethnologists offer more scientific, if less traditional, explanation of the ancestry of the Filipino people. They inform us that racially three varieties of man occur in the Philippines—the Negritos, the Indonesians, and the Malays. First came the Australoids, who have long since disappeared, and the Negritos, dwarfs of low intelligence,

¹ This chapter was read by Dr. H. Otley Beyer, Head of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of the Philippines. See A. L. Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, revised edition of 1928.

² See Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos* (1912).

with black skins and kinky hair, who settled near the coast and on the lowlands and are now found scattered over the Islands in remote mountainous regions. In connection with the origin of the Negritos, a respectable theory has it that the Philippine Archipelago was once a part of Asia, and that these aboriginal inhabitants simply spread from central Asia to the Philippines. Next arrived the Indonesians from the south, who drove the Negritos into the interior. Remnants of this stream of immigrants are found in the Igorots and other mountain peoples of Luzon, the Bagobos and Mandayas of Mindanao, the Tagbanuas of Palawan, and the Samals of the Island of Samal, but they blend pretty much into the predominant Malay strain. Finally there was a gradual infiltration of Malays, also from the south, to push out of the way their Negrito and Indonesian predecessors. If the Negritos were able to walk over the land bridge from Asia, the Indonesians and Malays were not and had to use boats to reach the Islands. The Malays represent the greater portion of the racial stock of the Philippines.

Asia then, the Asia of India and the Malay States, with reasonable certainty as demonstrated by marked similarities in language, and the Asia farther north, the cradle of mankind, but this with considerably less assurance, was the birthplace of the Filipinos.

THE FILIPINO RACE—ARE THE FILIPINOS CAUCASIANS OR MONGOLIANS?

The primary stocks of mankind as commonly classified are (1) Caucasian, white people; (2) Mongolian, yellow people; and (3) Negroes, black people. Now recall that the color of the Filipinos is neither white, yellow, nor black, but is brown, and you gain a glimpse of the racial problem to be solved.

Are the Filipinos Caucasians? H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* rather suggests that the Malays—and the Fili-

pinos are Malays—are cousins of the dark people of southern Europe; in other words, that the Filipinos are Caucasians or near-Caucasians. But now it is the august United States Supreme Court speaking and judicially holding that the term “white persons” excludes the Filipinos.³ Until further proof is adduced, the Caucasian theory will have to be rejected. If the Filipinos are not Caucasians, any intimation that the Filipinos are black people must similarly be discarded.

Are the Filipinos Mongolians? This question likewise has reached the courts and there has been variously answered. The most recent decision coming from the State of California, where the race problem has been violently agitated, finds that the Filipinos are not of the Mongolian race.⁴

There you are. Just as the Filipinos were once judicially pronounced neither American citizens nor aliens, so do they appear to have no race which they can claim for their own. However, just as further study of the status of the Filipinos within and without the American system resulted in their being denominated “American nationals,” so can a place be found for the Filipinos in the ethnological table. The solution is either to subdivide the Mongoloid type into (1) Asiatic Mongoloids, (2) American Indians, and (3) Malays including the Filipinos, or to add two additional grand divisions, the Australoids, primitive black people somewhat like the Negritos in the Philippines, and the Malays, among whom are found the Filipinos.

The Filipino's viewpoint on this subject is simple. He is content to be included among the Malays, and is not honored by having his people considered a branch either of the Caucasian or Mongolian races. In other words, the Filipino prefers brown to white or yellow in the color scheme of the universe.

³ “*Morrison v. California*,” 1934 *U. S. Supreme Court Advance Opinions*, Vol. 78, No. 5, p. 376.

⁴ “*Roldan v. Los Angeles County*,” 1933, 18 Pac. 2d. S. 706.

Why not let the matter rest there? Whether as a race or a sub-race, the Filipinos are Malays. The term "Malay" is now popularly and properly applied to all the inhabitants of the Philippines, excluding the whites and the blacks.

THE FILIPINOS CONSTITUTE A NATION

The inhabitants of the Philippines are collectively known as Filipinos. Theirs is a composite race—ninety per cent Malays and ten per cent intrusive foreign elements, among which the most important are the Chinese, Europeans, and Americans. The Filipinos are a people who delight in speaking of themselves as Filipinos, who dislike being taken for Chinese or Japanese, who think of themselves as Filipinos, and who are bound together by common ties and aspirations. And that is the prime test of nationalism.

The Filipinos are of fairly uniform type. They are of medium size, about three inches shorter and thirty pounds lighter than the average Caucasian. The men are well developed physically, but as a rule are beardless. The women are only slightly less muscular and in many cases are beautiful.

The word "tribe" is a misnomer in describing the Filipino groups, and the use of the term is not pleasing to the Filipinos. The people in the various regions are much the same physically, and the difference is simply one of dialect. The Christian Filipinos are principally divided into the Tagalogs, Visayans, Ilocanos, Bicol, Pampangos, and Pangasinanes. The Tagalogs are the best known and in many ways the most advanced. The Visayans are the largest in number.

The Ilocanos are often referred to as the Yankees of the Philippines, and have a deserved reputation for restlessness, industry, and thrift. They are the ones who migrate to Hawaii, save their earnings, and send them back to the Philippines to help support relatives or to buy property. In one year, more than 6,000,000 pesos (\$3,000,000) were sent from

Hawaii to the Ilocano provinces; even in 1933 Hawaiian money orders paid in the post-offices of the Ilocano provinces amounted to 2,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000). The Ilocanos are also the pioneers who spread out into neighboring provinces to develop the land.

"They say" that a white tribe exists in the Island of Mindanao and that another white tribe is to be found in the Island of Mindoro. This is all pure myth. The nearest approach to truth is the finding of Albinos living in dark forests, but they have not the features of Anglo-Saxons and are not white.

One tribe, the Macabebes, which has won notoriety out of all proportion to its importance, is no tribe at all, but is a people living in the town of Macabebe, Pampanga Province. The Macabebes because of feudal relations with one prominent Spanish family were always loyal to Spain, and after Spain left the Philippines transferred their loyalty to the United States. They aided the Spaniards and Americans against the Filipino insurgents, and their services were invaluable. The Macabebes were "the fine little fighters," to use the words of General Frederick Funston, who helped him capture General Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino revolutionary leader, and who then formed the nucleus of the Philippine Scouts in the United States Army.

On the one hand, it is the practice of Filipinos to contend that no regional antagonism exists in the Philippines, and on the other hand, of Americans to argue that the Filipinos are not one people. I am unable to subscribe to either viewpoint. The facts all prove that provincial and group loyalty is still strong. Place a number of Tagalog and Visayan laborers together, and they will inevitably gravitate into Tagalog and Visayan factions. Antagonize an individual from a particular town or province and he will gain the sympathy and support of the rest of the people of that town or province. But these are more in the nature of family squabbles, for as against the rest of the world, the people are unitedly Filipinos.

The Filipinos are one people just as much as the Americans. I have no patience with those unkind critics who for sinister purposes lay emphasis on the number of tribes and on the *mestizo* element of mixed blood, with the idea in view of proving lack of solidarity and of taking from the Filipinos the credit which is their due. Let me repeat that regional differences exist, but not to the extent of depriving the people of national unity. As for the *mestizos*, while they have invigorated the population, they are nevertheless Filipinos. Alien blood has been transfused to Filipino veins, but the Filipinos have remained essentially Filipinos and have withstood foreign assimilation. Let me also repeat that the Filipinos are primarily of Malay extraction, and are a blended race distinct from all others. The Filipinos are a homogeneous people. The Filipinos are a nation.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The Filipino social system is, generally speaking, composed of three classes—the *tao*, the rural laborer of the islands, the small landowner, and the *cacique* or *ilustrado*, the aristocrat. The *taos* are peasants who are willing workers in the fields. They are often oppressed by their employers and have been much preyed upon by usurers. With all, the *taos* appear content with their lot although increasing unrest is noticeable in some localities. Above the *taos* is the middle class, which, as in most countries, is the happiest. The *cacique* is a person of influence or a large landowner who frequently exercises his power arbitrarily. Rizal in his novel *Noli Me Tangere* ("The Social Cancer") drew a dark picture of the round of life and character of the *cacique* of his day, and such individuals are still to be found. The *ilustrados* are sometimes the scions of the Spanish *mestizos*. Having an admixture of foreign blood, they are inclined to look down upon their dark-skinned brothers, and in turn the full-

blooded Filipinos have no love for the "Castillas." On the large *haciendas* (plantations) the *ilustrado* lives in a big house, on a grand scale reminiscent of feudal days, attended by many servants poorly paid or virtually serfs.

From another angle there are in the Philippines the pure-blooded Filipinos and the *mestizos* (half-castes). The *mestizos* are Filipinos, but are often set apart as a distinct class. In reality, the *mestizos* are simply Filipinos of mixed blood who are more commonly found in the so-called Christian parts of the Islands than in the non-Christian parts. They are the product of intermarriage of the Filipinos with the Americans, and the Chinese, the Spaniards, and other foreigners. Just how many *mestizos* there are cannot be exactly determined, but possibly the number of native-born inhabitants having alien blood represents nearly ten per cent of the population.

The type of Filipino with Chinese blood, as for example the student class and the merchant class, have proved themselves to be natural leaders in scholarship and commerce. Many common Filipino surnames are merely Chinese names combined to constitute a new Filipino name. Practically all of the outstanding Filipino leaders have been and are of mixed blood. Rizal was of Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino ancestry. Quezon is of Spanish-Filipino descent. Aguinaldo and Osmeña are part Chinese. So on down the list. No Filipino leader with American blood has yet appeared on the scene, but it is only a matter of time until one does present himself.

American men in considerable numbers have married Filipino women, and many of these unions have proved happy. On the other hand, the mating of American girls with Filipino men has served to offend the sensibilities of many persons. In most cases, neither the Americans nor the Filipinos have approved of these marriages. American girls have romantically imagined that they were marrying a nobleman or a sugar

baron, only to be rudely disillusioned on arrival in the Islands. Either a loose life or the divorce courts have been the remedies. Yet couples there are, the man a Filipino and the woman an American, who live contentedly, altogether unconcerned as to whether or not they gain social recognition.

The *compadre* and *comadre* (godfather and godmother) system permeates all classes. It is *compadre* this and *comadre* that, and the new relationship is taken very seriously. So not only are the people bound by natural blood ties but by voluntary religious ones.

The bulk of the inhabitants of the Islands live in small towns. Their houses are usually built of bamboo and nipa raised upon posts with a small yard surrounding. There is very little furniture in the house, and the poorer families sleep upon mats on the floor. A few pictures, perhaps of Rizal or Quezon or a Saint adorn the walls. The ordinary diet consists of two things, rice and fish. Rice is the bread of the people, fresh fish is the meat.

The family life in these modest surroundings is happy. The parents are accepted by the children and relatives as the heads of the family. The biblical injunction to honor thy father and thy mother is cheerfully fulfilled. The children are treated affectionately, and filial obedience is ingrained. On the death of the father, the eldest son commonly acts for the family.

Christenings, weddings, and funerals are occasions for social festivities. The public *plaza* is ordinarily the center of public and religious celebrations, for around the *plaza* will usually be found located the church and the municipal building, and in the center a statue of Rizal. The town *fiesta* held annually is the great event of the year, and on this occasion every home is thrown open to receive within its hospitable walls guests of the family from far and near.

FILIPINO CHARACTERISTICS⁵

To a youthful Spanish priest was assigned the task—so the story goes—of preparing a tome dealing with the Filipinos, and he was given big books in blank on which to write his findings. Years went by and the priest died. The books were found and cautiously and reverently the covers of the *magnus opus* were opened. Lo and behold the pages were blank except on the first page of the first volume where was written a single line: "Here is all that I have found about the Filipinos."

Kipling, who knew his India, wrote, "For the East is East and the West is West; And never the twain shall meet."

The anecdote and the couplet have been taken literally by many Americans. The Oriental, and the Filipino is considered as such, although in reality he is not, has been set apart as a being entirely distinct from the Occidental. Remarkable and conflicting opinions on the merits and demerits of the Filipinos have been aired. Some there are who have lamented that they could comprehend nothing of the Filipino mind. Others have attempted an analysis of the character of the Filipino and found it most mysterious. New arrivals have called the Filipino "boy" and have talked to him in pigeon English and bamboo Spanish. That the Filipino has not laughed when looked down upon as an inferior being or held up before the microscope as a wondrous enigma, has been due to his innate sense of courtesy.

Certain authors have purported "to tell the truth about the Philippines" and the Filipinos, but in such a grotesque manner as not to be recognizable as truth by those of us who have lived for years among the kindly people who inhabit the Islands. On the other hand, superficial and exuberant Filipinos and foreigners have gone to the other extreme, to describe the Filipinos as model citizens possessed of all the virtues. As a matter of strict fact, the Filipinos are neither the

⁵ See Justice Norberto Romualdez, *The Psychology of the Filipino* (1925).

one thing nor the other, neither grossly bad nor sublimely perfect.

In one instance, the Filipinos made a national issue of an alleged slander on their character. President Hoover named Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt to be Vice Governor of the Philippines. Unfortunately for Mr. Roosevelt, he had written a book about the Philippines (*The Philippines, a Treasure and a Problem*), and a very readable book at that, but it contained pages that the Filipinos did not like. A mammoth mass-meeting was held. Mr. Roosevelt's book was burned on the sacrificial pyre—that is, it is claimed that it was burned, but those “in the know” say that no Roosevelt book could be found and that another, anonymous, book was substituted. At any rate, Filipino feeling was calmed, and Mr. Roosevelt was quietly shifted to the innocuous post of Minister to Hungary.

The display at the St. Louis World Fair in 1904 and at side-shows of the Igorots in gee-strings spread a false notion throughout the United States that these people were typical Filipinos. Add to this the popular fiction that the Malay is a being secretive, revengeful, and untrustworthy, and you find the root cause of American misunderstanding of the Filipinos. It is, therefore, no wonder that the American gasps in astonishment when he meets a Filipino college youth studying for his doctor's degree.

Of course the Filipinos have resented the reflection on their national character. Filipino leaders of thought, like Supreme Court Justices Villamor and Romualdez, have at last had to say a word in behalf of their compatriots. They have conceded that it is difficult for the Occidental to understand the idiosyncrasies of the Filipinos. “Perhaps no race has been so much misunderstood and as poorly studied as the Filipinos,” wrote the first-named jurist.⁶ They have then had to defend their people from unjust criticism.

Now I do not claim any right to more knowledge of the

⁶ Justice Ignacio Villamor, *Industrious Men* (1930), p. x.

Filipinos than is possessed by others except this: My mode of life in the Philippines has been to live naturally and normally and to forget that the Filipinos are Filipinos. I boast of a large acquaintance with them, possibly larger than that of any other American. These friends run from the intelligentsia and former law students of mine who occupy a large percentage of governmental posts down to old Cirilo, who confides that a neighbor is trespassing on his land. I have found these Filipinos, like Americans, to be good and bad, deserving and undeserving, truthful witnesses and unmitigated liars. So let me attempt to explain the Filipino.

In the first place, the Filipino possesses national characteristics as do those of other races. What has been said a moment ago brings to notice one dominant trait of the Filipino. He is sensitive—extremely so. Why? He aspires to racial and social equality. Therefore, he is ever on the alert to note slights, fancied or real. Also, in the Filipino, delicacy of sentiment predominates, and his natural reserve is all too often rudely jarred by blunt Americans.

The most common criticism of the Filipino is to say of him that he is lazy and thriftless. Rizal, the foremost Filipino author, frankly admitted this national defect, and lectured his people on their indolence. But in reality the Filipino is industrious—by that I mean industrious under the conditions in which he must live in the tropics. Employers in the Philippines and Hawaii speak well of their laborers who, they state, are good workers. In the provinces in the Philippines, the laborers arise with the dawn and stay in the fields for long hours, but usually not in the heat of the day, which is wise. In other words, the Filipino fits into his tropical environment.

Filipino shortcomings include his proneness to blind imitation, his lack of business sense, his easy-going ways, his slight regard for the truth, his cruelty to animals, and his love of pleasure and gambling. Without intending to extenuate these traits, they are readily explainable. The Filipino imitates

rather than initiates because he sees standards set up by Americans who ought to know, and these he copies for otherwise he might be ridiculed. The Filipino is not a good business man because nature has provided him with plenty, and the Chinaman will buy his products and sell him what he needs. The Filipino is easy-going because of the sun, and he may be right, for Americans who have tried to hustle the East now rest beneath a few feet of sod. The Filipino's passivity is a combination of natural dignity and protest against unnecessary haste. The Filipino when he answers with a half truth does not intend it as a falsehood; he is only giving expression to his desire not to offend, and so tells what would please his listener. The Filipino of the lower class whose lack of humane instincts where animals are concerned so shocks Americans and Europeans, simply reflects a vicious habit of Orientals.

The evil of gambling infects all classes. The Filipino is an inveterate gambler, for thus he varies a rather monotonous existence. Laws against gambling have been passed, and intermittent attempts at enforcement have been made. All was in vain. Now the Government has surrendered to the passion for gambling, and like other countries, has taken advantage of it to help legitimate enterprises by sanctioning the holding of sweepstakes with large prizes.

The good points of the Filipinos have been often stressed, and some of them are deserved and some are not. In the first place, the people are gentle and kindly. Their inbred courtesy on which has been overlaid the politeness of Spain has given to the Filipinos unfailing decorum and charming manners. This was literally true of what is known as the old-time Filipinos. Either a false imitation of American ways or wrong notions engendered by a too free educational system have broken down this characteristic virtue, to give way to exaggerated boldness bordering on insolence which is the opposite of good manners. Regrettable as it is, the change exists and will probably continue.

The sobriety of the Filipinos is also given as a conspicuous characteristic. It is undeniable that they are abstemious in the matter of liquors. Either they drink not at all or in moderation and then do not indulge in the strong liquors used by foreigners. While this is the general impression on this point and admittedly it is true, my judicial experience has brought to my notice cases in which the underlying cause of a tragedy was the immoderate use of native intoxicants. A laborer in the provinces goes to a *tienda* (a small store) and begins to drink *tuba* (palm liquor). It makes him crazy drunk, and without knowing what he is doing he engages in a bolo fight with disastrous results. When, therefore, we say that the Filipinos are not given to alcoholism, we state the truth with the proviso that drunkenness does occur in occasional instances.

The ready hospitality of the Filipino has been much commented upon; he is most considerate of all, including strangers. Everything the Filipino host possesses is at the guest's disposal. However, the guest is not expected to take the kindly proffer of a costly gift literally as some Americans have done, for the proffer is generally intended as a gesture of good will and no more. The hostess to show her appreciation of her guests is likely to serve a banquet with many meat courses (meat being somewhat of a luxury), and if the guest is not accustomed to Spanish or Filipino cookery, with garlic used lavishly, the result is sometimes dangerous to digestion.

The Filipinos respect authority. Presumably this is due to their experience first with their native chiefs, next with Spanish officials, and finally with the American Government. Whatever the cause, it has meant respect for law and general peace in the Philippines. In certain regions, notably near Manila, the peasants are losing this virtue and disorder bordering on insurrection has been known.

One could run on indefinitely enumerating the desirable qualities of the Filipinos. I must not neglect to mention the

lowland Filipino's personal cleanliness. In speech, however, he may not be so clean, and remarks are made and jokes bandied which are realistically frank. But to my mind the most commendable of all Filipino traits is his attachment to his home.

Perhaps my Filipino friends will not recognize themselves from my description of them. If they do not I may never know. They will continue to receive me in their homes and never by word or deed will let me know that I have offended. For that is the Filipino, ever a gentleman, gracious, kindly, and hospitable.

JUAN DE LA CRUZ

One method employed by the Spaniards to subjugate and Christianize the Filipinos was to give them names. A region like Arevalo in the Province of Iloilo might find all of its inhabitants with names beginning with "A" and another locality with names beginning with "B." But the favorite name of all was "Juan de la Cruz," literally in English "John of the Cross." Juan de la Cruz is a national character who typifies the Filipinos just as Uncle Sam does the Americans and John Bull the Britishers. Juan de la Cruz is usually pictured or cartooned garbed in *barong tagalog*, wearing a broad-brimmed coolie hat, a shirt of native material and nondescript color, with the tail left hanging outside of knee-length red pants, and with his feet in *chinelas* (heelless slippers).

Juan, a typical Filipino of the common people, is small in stature, for to be over five feet four inches in height is the exception. His figure is lithe and well muscled. His skin is a rich brown. His hair is black, straight, and luxuriant. His eyes are dark and luminous. His nose is short and flat. He bathes frequently and is scrupulously clean. He dresses modestly, but on occasion yields to a fondness for fine raiment. He is temperate in most of his habits, and where he

is intemperate is in an overfondness for women and gambling. He is an honest, peaceful, hardworking citizen and possesses the Filipino's dominant trait of hospitality.

Juan lives in a small nipa hut, simply furnished, and with him are his wife and children. As if this were not sufficient, *parientes* (relatives) add themselves to his already large family. One of his dearest possessions is his rooster, which he trains for the coming fight in the cockpit. If he has capital enough, he keeps one or more pigs which are left to roam under the house, and if he is more fortunate, he has as his richest heritage a faithful *carabao*. At night every aperture of the house will be closed to keep out the evil spirits.

Juan de la Cruz, the typical Filipino, is the rock on whose solid character Filipino nationalism is grounded.

FILIPINO WOMEN ⁷

The Filipino women are comely. In youth they are often young goddesses, erect in carriage, with clean golden-brown skin, dark flashing eyes, and possessed of black tresses long enough to reach the ground. The beauty of the women is not confined to the upper classes—those of the lower strata also have it. One of the prettiest girls I have ever seen was the wife of the driver of a public rig in Manila, while in the northern provinces I once accidentally met up with a maid in whose veins flowed the blood of some Yankee adventurer, white, black-eyed, lithe, a veritable Juno. And speaking of the *mestizas* (half-castes), Filipino-Chinese, or Filipino-Spanish, or Filipino-American, they often present pleasing combinations of the good points of both races, creamy complexions, come-hither eyes, light brown hair, and with more

⁷ Section read by Mrs. Vicente Lim, President of the Philippine Federation of Women's Clubs. See Dr. Maria Paz Mendoza-Guazon, *The Development and Progress of the Filipino Women* (1928), and Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (1912), Ch. x.

fire and life than their darker sisters. The *mestizas* were made for moonlight, romance, and love—and they know it.

The native costume of the Filipino women is very becoming to them. It is a costume uniquely their own and considered by many as the most beautiful native dress in the world. The materials vary, but the colors are always vivid and strikingly blended. The waist has large loose sleeves, which show smooth-skinned arms, and is cut low enough in front to display soft, perfectly moulded throats and shoulders and give hint of firm, rounded breasts. About the neck is a starched and folded *pañuelo* (neck handkerchief) which flatteringly frames the face. Delicate hand-made slippers complete the ensemble. These costumes often cost hundreds of pesos, and great is the competition among the socialites to be acclaimed the best dressed lady present.

The position of Filipino women is rather of the Occident than of the Orient. They are as highly honored and well treated as are the women of America. This was relatively true even before the arrival of the Spaniards centuries ago. Legaspi, the first Governor-General, reported, "They [the Filipinos] treat their women well and respect them." After Spanish occupation we find the Dons of Castille according the Filipino women due honor and marrying the girls of the well-to-do families. Women are now shown every consideration by the men of the Islands. Recently, the Philippine Legislature empowered married women of age to dispose freely of their paraphernal property without the consent of the husband.

Filipino girls are afforded splendid opportunities to obtain good educations. Some educational institutions are exclusively for them. The public schools, the University of the Philippines, and private universities and colleges, including the venerable University of Santo Tomas, are coeducational. The fair sex have made the most of their opportunities and

have even invaded the professions. They practice pharmacy in large numbers, medicine and dentistry in respectable numbers, and law in a few cases.

In recent times the activities of the women of the Philippines have assumed many aspects, and in their social work, in their clubs, and in their federations, Filipino women have played leading rôles in the Philippine community. Yet their position in relation to suffrage is most anomalous. First granted the right to vote and hold public office by the legislative body amidst much rejoicing, the Constitutional Convention in response to hackneyed excuses practically canceled this right, without, however, being able to deprive women of the privilege of voting for or against the Constitution.

Just as Juan de la Cruz has typified the common Filipino man, so has Maria Clara, the heroine of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*, been taken as personifying the best in Filipino womanhood. Maria Clara is pictured in tasteful native costume and with a singularly modest demeanor. Today, however, Maria Clara would have to undergo some changes. She is no longer the appealingly, timid, young thing who answered in monosyllables when addressed. The modern Filipina, though still lovely and outwardly demure, is more outspoken and is the mainstay of her family. She is mistress of her home and safekeeper of her husband's income. She likes to take part in social entertainment. With keen enjoyment, the Filipino girls participate in modern dances and make graceful and obliging partners.

The fair Filipina of today dresses smartly, whether in dainty native costume or the latest Paris mode. She is fond of jewelry, and no costume is complete without the family diamonds. At the same time, she handles the family purse, which is wise, for the men of the family are apt to dissipate their savings in gambling, and in the pursuit of enticing dancing girls or even in the maintenance of clandestine establishments. Her fingers are nimble and at embroidery and hat-



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MISS PHILIPPINES

Her Majesty, Miss Conchita Sunico, Queen of the Manila Carnival and Miss Philippines of 1935, attired in Filipina costume.

weaving she excels. Many of the workers in the cigar and cigarette factories are girls or women. The stall-keepers in the markets are apt to be women. Nor are the women of the middle or lower classes above working in the fields.

Not at all a picture portrayed in a book as was Maria Clara is the name of Melchora Aquino, known in Philippine history as "Matandang Sora." A humble old woman, inspired by patriotic fervor and the spirit of sacrifice, she is acclaimed as the great mother of the Philippine Revolution. Again, not at all like the demure Maria Clara or the indefatigable Matandang Sora are the modern figures of Filipino womanhood in the Philippines. One such influential and charming lady is Mrs. Jaime de Veyra, the wife of a former Resident Commissioner to the United States, and active in feminist movements. Another intelligent lady is Hadji Dayang Dayang Piandao, the first lady of Sulu. Popularly known as Dayang Dayang, which means princess of the first degree, she is the power behind the Sulu throne, and administers the property of the Sultanate.

It would not do to end the pages about Filipino women without making mention of the unusual sex situation which exists in the Island of Cuyo. In that lovely island, there are considerably more women than men. As yet, however, the male tourist has not been attracted to Cuyo as he has been to Bali and Tahiti. I offer this as information to any man finding it difficult to ensnare a helpmate. He can with advantage proceed to this little paradise.

CHAPTER III

THE MOROS AND PAGANS ¹

WHO ARE THE MOROS?

IF you can, conjure up a picture of the barbaric Huns, or the terrible Mongols, or better yet of the fierce Moors, attacking, killing, and pillaging, and you will have a picture of the Moros as they fought, and harried, and plundered during ages past. Commander Charles Wilkes in his narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838 to 1842,² one of the few early accounts of the Philippines written by an American, tells of his visit to conclude a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu and gives no pretty account of the Moros. Describing the scene when the audience with the ranking Datu was held, the Commander writes: "The whole was a strange mixture of tragedy and farce; and the group of natives were not far removed in appearance from the supernumeraries that a Turkish tragedy might have brought together in the green-room of a theater." Continuing, he thus describes the Joloanos: "A set of more cowardly looking miscreants I never saw. They appeared ready either to trade with us, pick our pockets, or cut our throats, as an opportunity might offer." Truth compels me to state that today the Moros' reputation for blood-thirstiness is not what it was of yore. Tardily and grudgingly they are learning how to live at peace among themselves and with their neighbors.

¹ This chapter was read by Judge Teopisto Guingona, last Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

² Found in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 148-188.

The word "Moro" is the Spanish equivalent of "Moor" and was applied indiscriminately to the Mohammedan peoples by the Spaniards when they arrived in the Islands. The name has remained and is used as descriptive of the Mohammedan Filipinos. But do not get the impression that the Moros are racially of different stock than the rest of the inhabitants of the Philippines. The Moros are Filipinos just as much as the other people of the Philippines commonly referred to as Filipinos. The chief difference is one of religion. The Filipinos proper are Christians, while the Moros are Mohammedans.

Originally pagans of Indonesian origin, the ancestors of the Moros came under Mohammedan influence in the fourteenth century. Two centuries later, when the Spaniards entered the Philippines, they found the Moros in complete control in the south and rapidly spreading their influence in the north. The fierce Moros became the pet abomination of the Spaniards. They raided towns, captured slaves, and looted vessels, while the Spaniards attempted reprisals but without permanent success. Never were the Spaniards able to subjugate the Moros. As for the Americans, bloody lessons were needed to teach the Moro recalcitrants the ways of peace.

The Moros are the predominating group in the Sulu Archipelago, the large Island of Mindanao, and the smaller Island of Palawan. In the history of Moroland, two names stand out above all others—Abu Bakr, who regularly organized the Sulu Sultanate, and Sharif Kabungsuwan, who founded the Sultanate of Maguindanaw.

SULU AND THE SULTAN OF SULU ³

The Sulus of whom I would speak are not the Zulus of Africa, and the Sultan of Sulu is not the Sultan of Sulu made

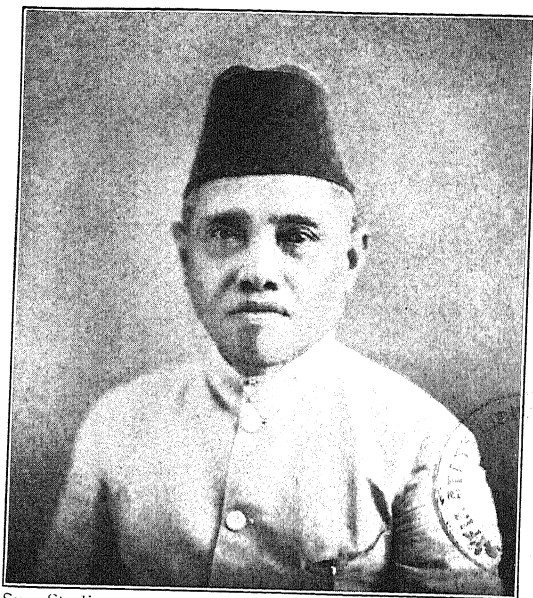
³ Section read by Hadji Butu. See Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa, *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People* (1923).

famous by the musical comedy of that name. The Sulus are Moros living in the Sulu Archipelago in the Philippine Islands. The Sultan of Sulu is a man of flesh and blood who, with American and Filipino consent, holds court like any potentate.

Prior to the advent of the Americans, the Sultan of Sulu had been an independent sovereign. The Sultan was an absolute and hereditary monarch whose word was law in temporal and spiritual matters. At its height, his power extended throughout the Sulu Archipelago and to parts of Basilan and Palawan Islands in the Philippines and to North Borneo in Borneo.

His Highness Padukka Mahasari Manulana Hadji Mohammad Jamalul Kiram II, Sultan of Sulu of the present, is not the Sultan of Sulu of yester-years. Nevertheless, although he does not possess a tithe of his former influence, he is still an important and colorful figure. General Bates made a so-called treaty with Hadji Butu representing the Sultan in 1899, an arrangement later abrogated for cause, and Frank W. Carpenter, Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, concluded an agreement with the Sultan in 1915. Through this latter arrangement the Sultan renounced all temporal power, and in return was recognized as the religious head of Mohammedanism in Sulu; he also received a grant of land and a life pension. Recently the Sultan was an appointive member of the Philippine Senate, but there, due to differences of language and training, he led a dreary existence.

It should be repeated that the Sultan of Sulu is officially recognized as the spiritual head of the Mohammedan Church in the Sulu Archipelago and nominally he is such. His is a dynasty which goes back to Mohammed with a genealogy of fully five hundred years. He has made an attempt to keep alive a show of petty royalty. The material wants of the Sultan are fairly well provided for by his government allowance, payments for various services by his subjects, and the



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JAMALUL II, SULTAN OF SULU



Bureau of Public Works photograph

MORO HOUSE, LANA O PROVINCE, MINDANAO

rental for land in Borneo from the British North Borneo Company. Now an old man, small in stature, and of an unimpressive personality, he has shown no particular talent for leadership. Two factions have invariably contested for supremacy in Sulu. Toward Americans he is well disposed, and he has made friends with the Filipinos.

The Sultan's domestic life has been gladdened by many wives, but saddened because they have presented him with no heir. Current rumor has it that the Sultan once asked the hand in marriage of "Princess" Alice Roosevelt Longworth. Once he visited the United States and had a gay time on New York's Broadway.

For many years, the Sultan's grand vizier was Hadji Butu, a descendant of Mantiri Asip, the great minister of Raja Baginda, the first Malay Prince who ruled Sulu. Hadji Butu has long been the spiritual mentor of the Moros. Also he has held many appointive positions, the last one being Senator for the twelfth district. It was invariably a pleasure for me, as it was for other Americans and Filipinos, to meet Hadji Butu. His English or Spanish may have been sorely deficient, but he was jolly and entertaining and readily gave evidence of the wisdom he possessed. Hadji Butu is rightly regarded as the best educated and ablest of his people, a Moro patriarch of whom the Philippines can well be proud.

THE SULTAN OF MAGUINDANAW AND THE MINDANAO MOROS ⁴

Long before the Spaniards came to the Philippines, Sharif Mohammed Kabungsuwan, an Arabian priest, had converted the Maguindanaws to Mohammedanism and had become their ruler. The Maguindanaws were the largest tribe of Moros in Mindanao, living in the Northern Cotabato region.

⁴ See Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (1905).

Not only was Sharif Kabungsuwan responsible for the successful introduction of Mohammedanism into Mindanao, but he founded the sultanate of Maguindanaw and reformed the whole system of government. Dr. Saleeby, the most eminent authority on Moro history, ventures the statement that Sharif Kabungsuwan was without doubt the greatest Mohammedan adventurer to trod the soil of Mindanao. In the fullness of his glory, the Sultan of Maguindanaw ruled over almost that entire island.

After Kabungsuwan his children succeeded to the Sultanate, but gradually its power declined. Of modern figures in Mindanao, Datu Piang in Cotabato and Datu Mandi in Zamboanga have been the most picturesque. Both were *mestizos* (half-bloods), Piang with Chinese blood and Mandi with Spanish blood.

The Moros of Mindanao figured prominently in the history of the Philippines. Their handicap was that they never found one man, with the exception of Kabungsuwan, who united them. Instead numbers of petty Sultans and Datus were scattered throughout the Island. At present the Moros of Mindanao are practically leaderless and are gradually being pushed out of the way by the more aggressive elements, like the Japanese, the Americans, and the Filipinos. The time is not far distant when Mindanao, conceded to be the rich storehouse of the Philippines, will have its wealth developed, and in this process it is likely that little regard will be paid to the protests of the Moros.

THE MOROS AND THEIR CUSTOMS ⁵

It is not easy to give in a few sentences the facts about the Moros and their characteristic customs and idiosyncrasies.

⁵ See Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime* (1916), Ch. IV, and Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa, *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People* (1923), Chs. VI and VII.

Physically the Moros are very much like other Filipinos. In dress, however, they are different, with a costume gaudy and picturesque. The dress of the Moro men at times consists of nothing except a *sarong*, a long piece of cloth joined at the ends and wound around the waist. More often the men wear trousers that fit close to the skin from the hip to the ankle, and a tight jacket. A handkerchief loosely wound around the head serves as a turban. Tied around the waist is a *sarong* in the folds of which is invariably carried a brass box for betel-nut, and a short dagger. Women also wear jackets, but with them they use wide loose trousers not unlike those worn by Chinese women. Like the Guaymis of Central America and the Dyaks of Borneo, the Moros file the teeth to points. Betel-nut-juice gives their lips a nearly perpetual vermilion hue.

The Moro girls are particularly careful of their honor, and it is the outraging of Moro women that has most often caused trouble in Mindanao and Sulu. The Moros marry very young, it being not infrequent for boys of fifteen and girls even younger to assume the responsibilities of married life. The Moro practices polygamy as this is sanctioned by his religion, a man having as many wives as he cares to support.

The principal occupations of the Moros are agriculture and fishing. They have shown considerable skill in the manufacture of articles of hammered brass. They are also expert weavers and silversmiths.

As has been said, the Moros profess the Mohammedan religion. The over-observance of their religion makes of the Moros fanatics and assumes peculiar forms in two respects. They "run *amuck*" and they "go *juramentado*." A Moro *amuck* is simply a crazed, frenzied man violently and indiscriminately killing until he himself is slain. The *juramentado* Moro, on the other hand, makes careful preparation and then quietly and methodically seeks a spot where Christians are wont to gather, when he begins the business of be-

heading and disemboweling. The fanatical *juramentado* Moro believes that if he meets his death as a result of killing a Christian he goes to his Mohammedan paradise.

The Moros are governed by numerous petty Datus. Within the land under the Datu's more or less vague jurisdiction he and his subjects construct a fortress called a *cotta*, and inside and around the *cotta* he and his retainers live. The Datu's word is practically absolute as to ordinary questions arising among his people.

The Moros never go abroad without a weapon. The *kris* is said to be their God, and Mohammed his prophet. This is readily understandable, for above all else the Moro is a fighter. Proud and touchy, the Moro is quick to resent any intrusion on his rights and customs and is prone to vindicate himself by the skilful use of beautiful blades of the type of the *kris*, *kampilan*, or *barong*.

GOVERNMENTAL POLICY TOWARD THE MOROS

Varied have been the forms which governmental policy has assumed for the Moros. Extermination, as at Bud Dajo and Mount Bagsak; negotiations, like the Bates treaty and the Carpenter agreement; and in later years attraction and conciliation.

Originally it was thought that the only good Moro was the dead Moro. Numerous punitive expeditions by the Military or Constabulary, or both, were organized and ordered to overcome opposing Moro elements in Lanao and Sulu. In 1906, on Bud Dajo, a bluff-sided and extinct volcano, troops sent by General Leonard Wood were forced to kill six hundred Moros, men, women, and children, who resisted to the last, and one-fourth of the troops actively engaged were killed or wounded. Seven years later, General John J. Pershing repeated the lesson at Mount Bagsak, and three hundred Moros were killed. From time to time the press is en-

livened by dispatches of Moro uprisings, and as late as 1933 a Constabulary patrol was ambushed and nearly exterminated by the Moro marauders whom they were hunting. Gradually, however, such occurrences are becoming fewer and when they do take place are not on the same scale as before.

The prophecies of some Americans that when freedom comes to the Filipinos, the Moros will again take up arms and ravage the country is not in my opinion well founded. The Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary, carefully trained and well equipped, are a match even for the combative Moros not nearly as well disciplined and with inferior weapons.

One cardinal point in Moro policy has consistently been not to interfere with the Moros' religion. With rare understanding, officialdom felt that the Moros should be left alone in their religious practices. This policy has meant tacit recognition of polygamy and even slavery, but this could not be helped. The Government has also respected Mohammedan law based on the Koran and has gone so far as to lodge more discretion in the courts in Mindanao than in the rest of the Islands. The attitude thus assumed by the Government has been wise, considering how touchy the Moros are on religious questions.

To emphasize the desire for unity, self-government has been partially accorded the Moros. The Datus and Sultans have not been molested when they have settled the disputes of their followers. The Moros have been permitted to elect some of their local officials, and their advice has been sought in the selection of higher officials. To the Philippine Legislature have come three Moro senators and a number of Moro representatives. Their membership in the Legislature has, however, been little more than nominal, and their influence has been slight even on matters affecting the Moro region. For these Moro delegates have not regarded with any degree of pleasure their sojourn in Manila.

Schools have been organized for the Moros, but they have not taken very kindly to the practices of the public schools. The reason has been that in the schools the Moro children have learned methods incompatible with Mohammedan customs. However, Moro children have been educated in the schools and have even been graduated from the higher courses. One most excellent school is the Indanan Farm School in the heart of the Island of Jolo, founded by an estimable American lady, Mrs. Lorillard Spencer, who largely maintains the school at her own expense. Mrs. Spencer spends much of her time at the school and her sacrificing labors have won for her the affection and respect of the Moros.

Moro convicts are mostly confined in San Ramon Prison and Penal Farm. This is not a prison in the true sense of the word, but is a beautiful farm by the sea situated near Zamboanga. The worst of Moro bandits have had to be confined in Bilibid Prison, and quite a number have been hanged or electrocuted.

The effort of the Government during the last few years has been to improve the relations between the Moros and the Filipinos. Filipino officials have been sent to Moroland and most of them have given good accounts of themselves. Occasionally a Filipino teacher or Constabulary officer has grossly offended the Moros, but these fortunately have been the exceptions and not the rule. In such cases the Moros have an effective way of retaliating, but with bloodshed at the end of the trail. Filipino settlers have been encouraged to migrate to Mindanao and there to develop the land. Most of these immigrants have been permitted to live peaceably, but once in a while they have been attacked by the Moros in the neighborhood who have resented their intrusion on the land.

The Moro problem will remain a problem for the Philippine Commonwealth and the Philippine Republic for a long time to come.

DATU PIANG OF A HUNDRED OR MORE WIVES AND OF
A HUNDRED OR MORE CHILDREN

Yes, of a hundred or more wives and of a hundred or more children! Datu Piang could never recall exactly how many. The most glamorous figure in the Cotabato region of Mindanao since centuries ago when Kabungsuwan ruled there. Friend of Moros, Chinese, Spaniards, Americans, and Filipinos. Progressive in his ways, and the loyal supporter of the Government. The wealthiest Moro of his day. The most powerful chief in Mindanao. That was Datu Piang, the grand old man of Cotabato.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Tan Toy (Toya), an Amoy Chinese, wandered into Dulawan in Northern Mindanao. To the Chinaman and a Moro woman of the vicinity six sons were born. Piang was the youngest. After the death of his father, despite his youth, he took upon himself the family responsibilities. His Chinese blood contributed the sagacity and industry that brought him wealth and influence, and his Moro blood made him a Mohammedan, to which faith he was loyal to the last. For more than half a century Datu Piang exercised a power that was unchallenged in Cotabato. Fortunately he exercised that power to the great advantage of his people. For instance, the Datu set the example by sending his children to the public schools, and he encouraged the children of his followers to do likewise.

About fifty miles up the Cotabato River was the large Maguindanaw village of Kuduarangan (Dulawan) where Datu Piang reigned. There he entertained on a grand scale. To visit him came lowly Moros and Governors-General, neighboring Datus and Generals of the United States Army, all certain of a cordial welcome. To most of his visitors, certainly to all American officers, Piang made presents. Colonel White reports that the Datu had a carefully graduated scale

of gifts that ran from an engraved *lantaka* (brass cannon) or valuable piece of brass for a general down to half a dozen eggs for a second lieutenant.⁶

Datu Piang died in 1933, age about ninety. He now sleeps the eternal sleep near the grave of his Chinese father in Cotabato. Over the grave his children and grandchildren have placed a *lantaka*, a gift from the Spaniards to the Moro leader. It will be a long time before Mindanao has another figure as colorful and powerful as Datu Piang.

TARHATA, UNIVERSITY COED AND ROYAL PRINCESS

Governor Frank W. Carpenter of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu had a dream. He would lead the untractable Moros to the ways of peace through their royal line, and he would select as the first missionary of good deeds a young and pliable Moro princess. So the Princess Tarhata Atik Kiram, niece of the Sultan of Sulu, was brought to Manila and put in charge of Mrs. Alma Burton, Dean of Normal Hall of the Philippine Normal School, who had helped so many Filipino girls. There I first met the Princess, a naïve miss in her 'teens, and danced with her. She certainly had learned quickly how to trip the light fantastic, for she danced with fairy grace. About the same time Governor Carpenter told me of his great plan, and I wondered if it would work out as he expected.

In due course Princess Tarhata was sent across the seas to the University of Illinois, and with her went Miss Carmen Aguinaldo, the charming and talented daughter of General Aguinaldo, the Filipino insurgent leader. Tarhata soon put on the veneer of American civilization. Became a full-fledged University coed. Even had a love affair, and worried Governor Carpenter for fear she would spoil his plan by marrying an American. Back to Manila came Tarhata, or rather Prin-

⁶ John R. White, *Bullets and Bolos* (1928), p. 235.

cess Tarhata, for she insisted on the use of her title, a sophisticated American college girl, short-skirted and slangy. Her picture was taken, she gave out an interview, and all seemed well. The Carpenter plan was working on schedule. Down to Jolo went Princess Tarhata and almost at once discarded her modish American clothes for a Moro *sarong*, filed her teeth, married already-married middle-aged Datu Tahil, by whom she had a daughter, and with the Datu became involved in a revolt against the Government.

The Datu went to prison for being overly ambitious. A pardon from the Governor-General liberated him just before his sentence expired. Whatever else Tahil's prison training taught him, he learned about women. During his incarceration his first wife, Corona Putla, deserted him and married his younger brother. When Tahil arrived back in Jolo, in the crowd which came to greet him, there was no Tarhata. The petite Princess had divorced her unfortunate husband, and married Datu Buyongan, a fifty-year-old widower.

In Washington sits Governor Carpenter in his mellow years, and as his thoughts go back to his Philippine days he must see again his dream for Moro peace which led to Moro war. In Jolo, in the Sulu Archipelago, lives the Princess Tarhata gone Moro, disdainful of her college days, but perhaps happier as a Moro, the life she prefers, than she would ever have been as an Americanized Moro, the delegate of Philippine unity.

PAGANS ⁷

The whole experiment in the control of the pagans in the Philippines has been successful. The Spaniards left the mountain peoples pretty much alone. The Americans obtained more spectacular results, and have succeeded in bringing peace to the pagans. To the simple mountaineers the American was an

⁷ Section read by Colonel William E. Dosser, P.C., Governor of the Mountain Province. See Keesing, *Taming Philippine Headhunters* (1933).

apo or chief who could be looked to for protection and for the settlement of all problems. The Filipinos have sometimes oppressed their less fortunate brothers, but again many Filipino officials have done most excellent work in administration in these remote regions.

The Negritos are the disappearing remnants of a primitive race that once populated the archipelago. They are truly little Negroes, black in the sense that the African Negro is black, and with thick woolly hair, but with a stature of less than five feet. Not more than seventy thousand in number, they roam the forests of the Philippines. While some of them have been brought within the pale of civilization, the great mass are of low intelligence, and attempts for their betterment have usually been unsuccessful.

The mountain peoples of Luzon are picturesque and interesting. The clothing problem is easily solved, for the men usually wear a gee-string, while for the women a brief *tapis*, large enough to girdle the waist and reach the knees, suffices. If the men put on more than a gee-string, it will be a coat and a hat, but never trousers. If the women use more than a *tapis*, you will find them removing their jacket when they are out of sight of civilized surroundings. One social institution rather unique and extremely modern is a form of trial marriage.

In Baguio a scene unlike that to be encountered in any part of the world is afforded on Sunday mornings when the Igorots come in from the hills carrying their burdens on their heads and backs, to offer their articles for sale in the public market. Dogs are no longer permitted to be sold there, but outside Baguio the dog market continues, for the favorite dish of these mountain-dwellers is roast dog. Civilization has come to the Igorots in the form of the taxi, and it is no uncommon sight to see a near-naked pagan riding in a bantam jitney.

If you are at all familiar with the American Indians, you

will rub your eyes and wonder if after all you are in the Philippines. To a surprising extent the Igorots and other mountaineers of the Philippines resemble the American Indians. Color, a copperish brown; hair, coarse and black; high cheek bones; none too clean, with the women carrying their babies on their backs—that is the Igorot—and that is the American Indian.

The pagans of the southern islands, like the Mangyans in Mindoro and the Bajaos or sea gypsies of Mindanao and Sulu, are not very much farther advanced in civilization than the Negritos. On the other hand, in Mindanao the Bagobos and others like them are a handsome people with many good qualities.

Some of the pagans have proved adaptable to education. One for example, Dr. Hilary Clapp, has been a member of the Philippine Legislature. Another, Dr. Jose Cariño, was graduated from the University of Chicago and was a member of the Constitutional Convention. The possibilities of advancement for some of the pagans would, therefore, seem to be as great as for any other people.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ¹

THE DISCOVERY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE Philippine Islands have been "discovered" many times. They were first "discovered" by the inhabitants of Asia and Oceanica during ages shrouded in antiquity. The Islands were next "discovered" on the circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan. The Islands were again "discovered" when Commodore George Dewey fought the Battle of Manila Bay and brought the Philippines within the geographical ken of America. And there was "self-discovery" of the Philippines by the Filipinos when within recent years they became race-conscious and began to move about and know their own country.

The characteristic statement to be found in the books is that the Philippine Islands were "discovered" by Ferdinand Magellan on March 16, 1521.² If by this is meant that the Philippines was then brought to the notice of Europe, the statement is correct. But long before Magellan set eyes on the Island of Samar and entered into a blood compact with the chief of Cebu in the Philippines, the Islands were known to other countries, and particularly to China. Just as old Nan-kin porcelain has been found in the Zimbabwe ruins in South

¹ This chapter was read by Dr. Gregorio Zaide of the Department of History, University of Santo Tomas.

² March 16, 1521, old-style Gregorian calendar, if Antonio Pigafetta's journal, Francisco Albo's log-book, and *The Moluccis Insulis* are to be believed. March 17, 1521, if the failure to take into account the crossing of the International date line is to be rectified. March 14, 1521, if the inscription "March 14, 1521" found on some granite rocks on the Island of Homonhon is to be considered authentic.

Africa, so has ancient Chinese porcelain been dug up in the Philippines. It is reasonably certain that for centuries before the coming of the Spaniards the Islands were in communication with China.

The various discoveries of the Philippine Islands furnish the dividing lines of its history. The three great formative periods were the pre-Spanish, the era of Spanish rule dating from their discovery of the archipelago and continuing to Dewey's victory in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, and the American period now prevailing but soon to cease. Overlapping both Spanish and American administrations in point of time is a fourth division, the Philippine Revolution, which is at present being carried forward into a new epoch. The first period was mainly Filipino, the second combined Spanish and Filipino, the third combined American and Filipino, and the last aspires to be strictly Filipino. It is noteworthy that the Philippines has thus been touched by various civilizations—by the aboriginal and Oriental, the Latin and European, and the Anglo-Saxon and distinctly American.

THE PHILIPPINES, A LAND OF EPICS AND ROMANCE

The task is not here essayed of telling the epic story of the Philippine Islands. Not but that the Philippines is a land of epics, for it is. No country possesses a more romantic history. But the reason why an attempt is not made to tell the fascinating narrative is that the answers to many questions are left to surmise and no author could hope to piece together all the fragments of human knowledge to make a mosaic of Philippine history.

First, let me set down a few of the many intriguing and questioned points pertaining to the Filipinos and the Philippines. Whence came the pigmy Negritos, the aboriginal inhabitants of the Philippines, and the equally wild Mangyans? Whence came the mountain people of northern Luzon

with their Indonesian features? Whence came the present-day Filipinos of Malay origin? Does a lost white tribe exist in some remote region in the interior of Mindoro and another in Mindanao? Is the Philippines a remnant of a vast continent of the Pacific which, like its mythological rival Atlantis of the Atlantic, long since sank beneath the waves, or did the Philippines once form a part of the continent of Asia, or was the Philippines attached to the Australian continental mass? Were the Islands in ages past known as "Ophir," the country that supplied King Solomon with precious gold? Was the Philippines a part of the great Sumatran State, Shrivishaya, or a part of the equally great Javanese State, Madjapahit, or a part of a vast Chinese empire of unknown name? Or are these theories untenable? Instead, was the Philippines, together with Borneo, an independent state ruled by an imperial Philippine family which traced its descent from Philip of Macedon? And the names linked by legend to the Philippines, like Sinbad, Marco Polo, Mohammed, and Alexander the Great, were they really authentic figures in Philippine history?

Sinbad! Sinbad the Sailor of the Arabian Nights is supposed to have made voyages to Malaysia and the Philippine Archipelago. Strictly fiction?

Marco Polo! When Marco Polo, the Venetian, returned to Europe after a lengthy stay in China and Japan, and possibly other distant regions, he was thrown into prison for his supposed lies concerning these far-away countries. Persons endowed with sufficient imagination have conjectured that Marco Polo included the Philippines in his travels. Fact or fiction?

Alexander the Great! It is commonly believed in Sulu that Alexander the Great and several of his officers once ruled in Jolo. Manila when the Spaniards arrived was a Moro outpost, and its royal family boasted of descent from King Alexander. Fact or fiction?

Mohammed! The Sultan of Sulu is the last of a dynasty which has as the base of its genealogical tree the prophet Mohammed. Across the sea in Mindanao, Sharif Kabungsuwan, the Sultan of Maguindanaw, claimed descent from Mohammed. Fact or fiction?

From this point we are on surer ground. And first a word about the unrivaled exploit of Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, in sailing around the world. Of him it can be said with assurance that he ranks as the first navigator of ancient or modern times. His voyage was the most notable single human achievement on the sea. History further records the sad fact that this intrepid leader met his death on Philippine soil. On the Island of Mactan opposite the City of Cebu a modest monument commemorates his fame, and there constantly come reverent visitors to do honor to the discoverer of the Philippines.

The word "Lapu-Lapu" is widely known to residents of the Philippines as a fish popular with epicures, but it also has historical significance. Lapu-Lapu was the first Filipino chieftain to resist European invasion after the discovery of the Philippines by Spain, and this he did successfully when Magellan was killed. Regardless of how much we may lament that the worthy Magellan was the victim of this encounter, we must concede that it took courage of a high order for Lapu-Lapu to attack these strange foreigners protected by armor and equipped with superior weapons.

Of the same fiber as Magellan were Miguel Lopez de Legaspi and Andres Urdaneta, whose expedition daringly set forth from Mexico to colonize and Christianize the unknown Philippines. The work of Legaspi during his crowded years in the Islands entitles him to a place as a colonizer without a peer.

The Spaniards have conquered Manila and made it the capital of the colony. In the year 1574, Li-Ma-Hong, a bold Chinese corsair to some, a celestial Sir Francis Drake to others,

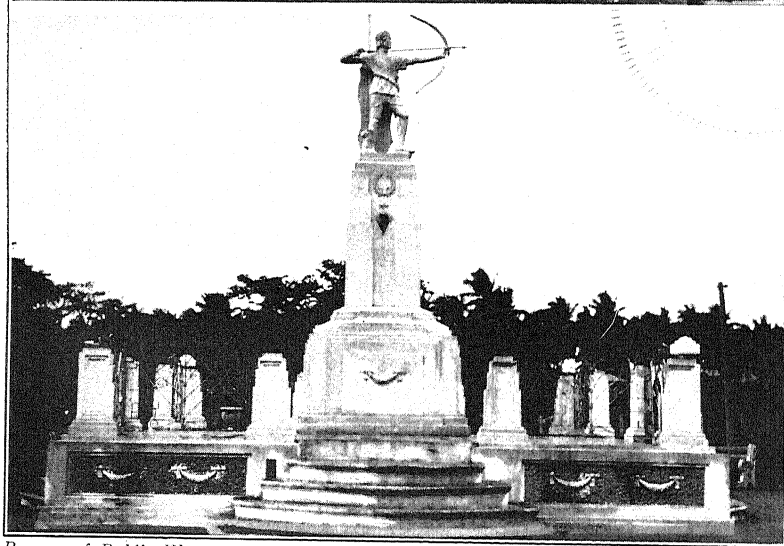
with visions of easy wealth, descends upon the Islands. He is driven back after lusty fighting, and Manila is saved by Juan de Salcedo, the Spanish commander.

One episode there is in Chinese history which shows how Filipinos formed a foreign legion and established their reputation as brave fighters. "General" F. T. Ward, an American soldier of fortune, offered to help the Chinese suppress a rebellion in the neighborhood of Shanghai. He gathered a regiment of "Manila men," as Filipino sailors were then called, and drilled them into such an efficient unit that they won the title "Ever Victorious Army" because of their almost unbroken series of victories.

Time passes. The sun of the Spanish day is setting. Commodore George Dewey sets forth from Hongkong for the Philippines and after a brief but daring engagement sinks the Spanish fleet and writes his name large in American annals. About the same time the Filipino insurgents are eliminating the last vestiges of Spanish power. A detachment of Spanish troops is located in Baler, since made famous as the birthplace of the Philippines' foremost leader, President Manuel L. Quezon. Besieged, the small group of courageous Spaniards refuses to surrender even after Spanish sovereignty has passed, furnishing an inspiring example of Spanish bravery.

In 1899 the Filipinos and the Americans are no longer comrades, but are pitted against each other in war. The fratricidal feud takes its ghastly toll. Among the dead lies Henry W. Lawton, a soldier who never lost a fight, America's greatest campaigner in the Philippines, and a titan of courage and strength. Another sacrifice to war was Gregorio H. del Pilar, the youngest and bravest Filipino leader of a lost cause.

General Lawton had been the terror of the Indian marauders of the Northwest. In the Philippines he had become the "General of the Night" whom the Filipinos feared with superstitious dread. In middle December he left Manila on his last scout. Disdainful, as usual, of the bullets spattering



Bureau of Public Works photograph

MONUMENTS TO FERDINAND MAGELLAN AND LAPU LAPU

The modest memorial to the intrepid navigator is near the spot where he met his death; that to the Filipino chieftain who defeated him is on the same Island of Mactan, opposite the city of Cebu.

about him, his towering frame and conspicuous garb made him a target for the insurgents; he was shot through the lungs and died almost immediately. General Lawton now rests at Arlington, the national cemetery, among the valiant dead.

In the same fatal month of December, General Aguinaldo's insurgents were in retreat. The rear-guard was formed of sixty men under the command of the young General Gregorio H. del Pilar. Up the trail at lonely Tirad Pass ³ a battalion of the 33rd Volunteer Infantry attacked on three sides, but the little band refused to surrender. When the fight was over the defenders of the pass were practically annihilated. Among them was found the body of the heroic commander, who had welcomed death and who was proud to die fighting for his country. As a tribute to the hero of Tirad Pass his enemies buried him with full military honors, and on the spot where he fell left this inscription:

GENERAL GREGORIO DEL PILAR

Killed at the Battle of Tila Pass

December 2, 1899

Commanding Aguinaldo's Rear-Guard

An Officer and a Gentleman.

Sinbad, Marco Polo, Alexander, Mohammed, names about which to speculate. Magellan and Legaspi, Dewey and Lawton, Lapu-Lapu and Del Pilar, names among a myriad of others worthy of honor, and all enshrined in the golden pages of Philippine epics and romance.

THE PRE-SPANISH PHILIPPINES ⁴

What is entitled the Pre-Spanish Philippines might with all propriety be changed to the pre-historic Philippines. The

³ Also erroneously called "Tila Pass" and "Tilad Pass." *Tirad* is an Ilocano word meaning "pointed."

⁴ See Steiger-Beyer-Benitez, *A History of the Orient* (1926), pp. 117-124, 192-205.

early Filipinos were literate, but the church missionaries in their mistaken zeal ruthlessly destroyed practically every vestige of their writings. One Spanish priest in Southern Luzon boasted that he had destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in native characters. As a result only a few fragments of Filipino literature survive, to the vexation of modern scholars. Accordingly, it has been necessary to search the records of neighboring countries for the history of the Philippines before the arrival of Magellan. The isolated facts thus disclosed have then had to be carefully tested for authenticity and pieced together to make a connected narrative.

Of the antiquity of the Philippines no one can speak with authority. Yet though the historical datum is not what it might be, there is reason to believe that the Philippines had been part of two far-flung Malayan empires, Shri-Vishaya, whose center was Sumatra, and Madjapahit with Java as the seat, and of a Chinese empire which had ruled the Philippines and exacted tribute from its inhabitants. However, this view is hotly contested by respectable authors. The Indian influence was then most profound, while the Chinese influence was only felt through the channels of trade. From the voluminous Chinese chronicles we learn that the Chinese had had commercial relations with the Philippines for a thousand years before the Christian era. In 1372 A. D. the first embassy from the Philippines arrived in China with tribute. In succeeding years this seems to have been the practice. In addition, there was trade with Japan, the Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, and Borneo.

When the Spaniards arrived they found the Filipinos numbering about half a million and scattered all over the Islands in groups called "barangays," which were ruled by petty chiefs. Sometimes the "barangays" were united in loose confederations. In Manila, the chieftain Rajah Soliman had his

stronghold on the south bank of the Pasig River, and Rajah Lakandola had his town on the north bank.

Agriculture was then in a comparatively prosperous condition. Fishing, weaving, and metal-working were among the common occupations. The material wealth was considerable. Standard weights and measures were used. The year was divided into lunar months. The people had a peculiar phonetic alphabet. The laws were both written and unwritten. In short, it can safely be asserted that long before the coming of the Spaniards, the inhabitants of the Philippines had acquired a culture distinctly their own.

When, therefore, the Spaniards took over the Philippines from the Filipinos, the latter were divided politically, but in wealth and civilization they were fairly comparable with the early history of other progressive races. What would have happened in the Philippines had it not been for the conquest by the Spaniards is problematical. Probably the Moro invasion from the south would have persisted and eventually the Philippines would have been consolidated into one or more Mohammedan States. But that was not to be the fate of the Filipinos. To them was to come not only the crescent of the Moslems but the cross of the Spaniards and the democracy of the Americans.

SPANISH RULE⁵

Except for a brief interval during the Seven Years' War when the British occupied the Islands, the Spaniards were in control of the Philippines for over three centuries. The Philippines was a part of a Spanish empire which in its heyday included South America and a goodly portion of North America. From Mexico, in 1564, there came to the Philippines an expedition commanded by Miguel Lopez de Le-

⁵ See Edward Gaylord Bourne, Historical Introduction to Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 1-87.

gaspi, with the soldier-priest, Andres Urdaneta, as his chief adviser and navigating officer. Legaspi effected permanent settlements in Cebu in 1565, and in Manila in 1571. Thereafter, with but slight resistance, Spanish sovereignty was extended to include all but the Moro portion of the archipelago.

During all these years the soldier and the priest were supreme. Governors-General with vice-regal powers represented the Spanish crown in the Philippines. Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church with scarcely less authority and sometimes with more authority than the Spanish viceroys zealously carried out the missionary plans of Rome. Practically the only restriction on the Governors and other officials was an institution known as the *residencia*, devised by the Spaniards to secure an investigation into the conduct of Philippine officials during their entire term of office.

The Philippines was primarily a Spanish colony. The Spaniard was the ruler, the Filipino the ruled. With the exception of a limited number of minor offices which the Spaniards permitted the Filipinos to fill, the government was administered by Spain for Spain. Only during three short periods, due to governmental upheavals in Spain, was the Philippines allowed nominal representation in the Spanish Cortes. True, there was a ponderous collection of Laws of the Indies designed to protect the natives, but unfortunately they were not enforced, and all laws emanated from Spain.

To the typical Spaniard, the Filipino was an *Indio* (Indian). *Indios y mestizos* (Indians and half-bloods), by these two names the Spaniards called and divided the Filipinos. The inclination of the Spanish *mestizos* was to identify themselves with the Spanish officials, and in this they often succeeded.

The legitimate criticism of Spanish colonial policy is practically self-evident and needs little elucidation. The thought was ever of the mother country and of securing the most from

the Filipinos for the benefit of Spain and her numerous officials. That corruption existed has never been denied, and this not only in the executive department but in the judiciary, where it is most detestable. It was reported that the notorious General Weyler, after three years as Governor-General of the Philippines, returned to Spain with a fortune estimated by his personal intimates at between \$2,500,000 and \$3,000,000.

On the other hand, it must be conceded by any fair-minded man that the Spaniards rendered a great service to the people of the Philippines. The merits of Spanish rule more than balance its demerits. The native system of government which disorganized the people was abolished and the royal families were extinguished. The Spaniards introduced their own language, customs, and laws. The seeds of Latin civilization were planted and occasionally came to fruition. Hand in hand with the secular administration went the religious, with the result that the Filipinos acquired the blessing of a common Christian faith. The Spaniards influenced the Filipinos profoundly and for the better.

Only once during the years of Spanish domination did a Spanish official speak up in behalf of the rights of the Filipinos to say that if Spain did not liberalize her policy, she would not be able to retain the Philippines, and this was in 1843 when Sinalbaldo de Mas made a report to the home government which was quietly pigeonholed. Only two men, one the German naturalist Feodor Jagor, and the other the Filipino Jose Rizal, the most eminent of his race, foresaw the inevitable loss of the Philippines to Spain and predicted that the Philippines would sooner or later succumb to the American influence.⁶

⁶ Feodor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* ("Travels in the Philippines"), 1873, concluding paragraphs, and Jose Rizal, *Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años* ("The Philippines a Century Hence"), 1889.

THE AMERICAN FLAG ARRIVES IF THE CONSTITUTION
DOES NOT ⁷

The eventful year 1898 found Fernando Primo de Rivera, uncle of the future dictator of Spain, as the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines, although shortly thereafter he was succeeded by Governor-General Agustin, with Admiral Montojo in command of the fleet. The same year found General Emilio Aguinaldo in Singapore, whence he had gone after the Pact of Biak-na-bato, which concluded peace between the Filipino insurgents and the Spaniards. And 1898 found Commodore Dewey in command of the American fleet in Hongkong. A condition of comparative quiet prevailed in the Philippines. The Americans declared war on Spain and there was activity on all fronts.

Dewey, who previously had been warned by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt and was awaiting final orders in Hongkong, on April 25, received from Secretary of the Navy Long the following laconic message: "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. Commence operations particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavour." Aguinaldo on hearing of the war rushed from Singapore to Hongkong, and was later conveyed on an American vessel to the Philippines, where he renewed operations successfully against the Spaniards. And Governor-General Agustin in Manila, under date of April 23, issued the following remarkable manifesto:

A fleet manned by a foreign and uncultured, undisciplined crew has dared to come to these shores for the insane purpose of depriving you of all that means life, honor, and liberty. These North American seamen pretend to be inspired with a courage of which they are incapable, considering it quite proper to substitute the Protestant faith for the Catholic religion which you

⁷ See *Autobiography of George Dewey* (1913).

profess, to treat you as so many tribes apart from the current of civilization, to grab your riches as if you were ignorant of your right to property, to rob you, finally, of those of your men whom they consider useful for the needs of their ships or for the pursuit of their agricultural and industrial enterprises.

Vain purposes! Ridiculous boasts!

Your indomitable courage is sufficient to prevent even their attempt to realize such intentions. You will not, you cannot consent, to any assault on your religious faith, nor allow the conquerors' impious feet to tread upon the true temple of God, or that their incredulity wreck the holy images that you adore; the aggressors shall not profane the tombs of your fathers; they shall not satisfy their shameless lusts at the cost of the honor of your wives and daughters; they shall not deprive you of your resources accumulated through honest labor for the security of your existence; they shall never realize any of those crimes cherished by their iniquity and their greed, because your valor and your patriotism are enough to chastise a power that, in the guise of civilization and culture, is employing the art of extermination upon the natives of North America without attempting to lead them into the paths of civilization and progress.

Filipinos, prepare yourselves for the fight, and, united under the glorious folds of the Spanish flag, let us fight in the conviction that victory will crown our labors and let us answer the enemy's intimidations with this cry of the Christian and the patriot: "Long Live Spain."

At about dawn on May 1, 1898, the American fleet under the command of Commodore Dewey entered Manila Bay, and after navigating safely the mines planted by the Spaniards and after avoiding the fire of the shore batteries, passed in battle array before the Spanish fleet. When at a distance of five thousand yards, Commodore Dewey turned to Captain Gridley and said, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." And then in one of history's most decisive naval combats, the Spanish fleet was destroyed and the American flag brought to Philippine shores.

Manila capitulated to the American forces, who arrived in the Islands after the Battle of Manila Bay, on August 13 of the same year, and this has since been a national holiday in the Philippines known as Occupation Day. By a coincidence a protocol of peace between the United States and Spain had been signed on August 12 (August 13, 5:30 A. M., Manila time), or a few hours before the capture of Manila. The Treaty of Paris concluding the Spanish-American War was agreed to on December 10, 1898, and later was ratified by both signatories. By the treaty Spain ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States. In turn the United States paid Spain 40,000,000 pesos (\$20,000,000), but for what particular purpose has always been left to conjecture. The treaty provided that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress."

After eliminating the Spaniards, it became necessary for the American troops to pacify the Islands. Who started the trouble between the Americans and the Filipinos has long been debated. Did a Filipino insurgent at San Juan bridge just outside of Manila fire on an American sentry, or did an over-zealous American soldier prematurely fire on the Filipino lines? Whatever the cause, war was on, and before it was concluded Filipino and American lives had needlessly been sacrificed. With the capture of General Emilio Aguinaldo by Frederick Funston, the insurrection was broken and peace brought to the archipelago. By 1902 allegiance to the United States had been won.

Military rule was first instituted in the Islands. Civil administration was begun with the coming of the First Philippine Commission, which investigated conditions and made a report, and with the arrival of the Second Philippine Commission with legislative authority. On July 4, 1901, the first Civil Governor was inaugurated and a government organized which was to continue for over thirty years.

The status of the Philippines was determined by the United States Supreme Court in nearly evenly divided decisions in what are known as the Insular Cases. In popular phrase the high Court ruled that the American Constitution had not followed the flag to the Philippines. Practically speaking, the doctrine has proved no handicap, for the Philippine Government is closely patterned after American institutions. And excepting the right to trial by jury, which was withheld because deemed unsuitable to conditions in the Islands, all of the important provisions of the American Bill of Rights were extended to the Philippines.

For nearly four decades the American emblem has floated in Philippine breezes. In a few years the flag will be hauled down for the last time. But when that act occurs, it will not be because the United States is compelled to do so, but because of American altruism and respect for the aspirations of the Filipinos to be free. As for the Constitution of the United States, it has influenced Philippine policy and invariably for the better. Let us hope that it will continue to do so for long years to come.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE PHILIPPINES ¹

AMERICAN PHILIPPINE POLICY ²

THE Philippine policy of the United States was begun haltingly and reluctantly. At the council table to formulate the Treaty of Peace between Spain and the United States the American Commissioners were unable to state whether the United States wanted the Philippines at all, desired the Island of Luzon alone, or claimed the entire archipelago. The higher authorities at Washington could give no more definite instructions. Even after President William McKinley on bended knees had sought divine guidance and had decided to place the Philippines on the American map, the opinion of the country was no better formed than that of its officials. By the closest of margins, the treaty received the necessary two-thirds vote in the United States Senate. The issue of anti-imperialism was threshed out before the American electorate, and the President was given a vote of confidence.

Having decided to keep the Philippine Islands, the question was what to do with them. What may be termed the compromise plan, which because of the ambiguity and uncertainty of American policy permitted of readjustment, was given practical application in the Philippines. The first and simplest policy, that of the anti-imperialists and their successors, wanted the Americans to get out of the Philippines as soon as

¹ This chapter was read by Colonel Louis J. Van Schaick, in the early years of American occupation Governor of Mindoro and Governor of Cavite, more recently on the staff of the Governor-General.

² See Storey-Lichauco, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States* (1926).

possible and hand over everything to the Filipinos; this was rejected. The policy which was advocated by the imperialists and their successors declared that the Philippines was a possession fairly acquired and worth retaining permanently; this was likewise forsworn. It was the middle course between the two extreme schools of thought that was approved. In legal parlance, this signified that the Philippines was not to be considered as either a foreign country or a colony, but was to be a dependency temporarily held by the United States.

The United States has fairly consistently pursued a policy leading to eventual independence for the Philippines. The control of the United States over the Islands has been conceded to be essentially temporary in nature. President Herbert Hoover in his veto message of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Independence Bill frankly admitted that the Filipino people have been encouraged in their aspiration for a separate nationality "by every President of the United States during the years of our association with the Philippines and by declarations of the Congress." President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his message to the Congress resubmitting the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, said, "In keeping with the principles of justice and in keeping with our traditions and aims, our government for many years has been committed by law to ultimate independence for the people of the Philippine Islands, whenever they should establish a suitable government capable of maintaining that independence." The much-debated questions were: when and how should this independence be granted?

Generally speaking, American policy in the Philippines has been dominated by no more than six or seven men. Until 1913 it was influenced by Elihu Root and William Howard Taft, from 1913 to 1921 by Woodrow Wilson, and from 1921 to 1933 by Leonard Wood and Henry L. Stimson. The most potent single figure in present-day American Filipino relations is President Franklin D. Roosevelt, properly advised by Frank Murphy and Millard E. Tydings.

The first definite statement of the attitude of the United States toward the Philippines was found in President McKinley's Instructions to the Second Philippine Commission. This was a great state paper prepared by Secretary of War Root. Besides outlining a form of government, it laid down a reasonable and charitable basis for that government. The President, in characteristically tolerant spirit, stated that the government to be established was not designed "for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

The Philippine Bill of July 1, 1902, added nothing to the enunciation of policy to be found in the President's Instructions to the Commission. It was not until the enactment of the Jones Law on August 29, 1916, that the Congress was afforded an opportunity to state that, "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." The Tydings-McDuffie Law of 1934 put the stamp of approval and accomplishment on the principles previously announced in the President's Instructions and the Jones Law.

It was remarked that a few men have controlled American policy in the Philippines. The statement will bear a little further elucidation.

Governor-General Taft was responsible for the motto, "The Philippines for the Filipinos." The speech in which this phrase was the theme made him popular with the Filipinos and unpopular with the Americans, whereas the reverse was

true when Taft became conservative in dealing with the Philippine problem. What is more important, however, is that Taft, who was mainly responsible for the inauguration of the Philippine Government, declared that the national policy was to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare of the people of the Islands, and gradually to extend to them, as they showed themselves fit to exercise it, a greater measure of popular self-government. This has meant the evolution of a government of Americans assisted by Filipinos into a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans and the preparation of the people for future independence.

With the election of President Woodrow Wilson and with the inauguration of Francis Burton Harrison as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, American policy took a turn toward the left center. The President appointed a majority of Filipinos to the Philippine Commission and so Filipinized the Philippine Legislature. Governor-General Harrison on the day of his arrival in Manila delivered to the satisfaction of the Filipinos a message from the President which began, "We regard ourselves as trustees, acting, not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to ultimate independence, and we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the Islands will permit." Governor-General Harrison continuing his Inaugural Address coined a phrase of his own which became historical: "People of the Philippine Islands, a new era is dawning." Thereafter, the Jones Law was enacted, and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker addressed to Governor-General Harrison a covering letter relating to the administration of the Philippines under the new Organic Act. The purport of the letter was to forestall too radical developments, but apparently it was disregarded, or at least kept secret, for it was only in December,

1925, that the Baker letter was read into the *Congressional Record* by Congressman Robert L. Bacon.

With the passing of the Democratic administration, there was of course a tendency for the pendulum to swing back toward the center. But this only amounted to a tendency. To change the figure of speech, the United States had gone too far along the independence road to retreat. The popular conception of American duty to the Philippines under such conditions has never been more adequately or forcibly stated than by former President Theodore Roosevelt when he said:

Personally I think it is a fine and high thing for a nation to have done such a deed [our work in the Philippines] with such a purpose. But we cannot taint it with bad faith. If we act so that the natives understand us to have made a definite promise, then we should live up to that promise. The Philippines from a military standpoint are a source of weakness to us. The present administration has promised explicitly to let them go, and by its action has rendered it difficult to hold them against any serious foreign foe. These being the circumstances, the Islands should at an early moment be given their independence without any guaranty whatever by us and without our retaining any foothold in them.³

The Democrats returned to power, and it was left for another Roosevelt, Franklin D., to make effective the promise of independence, which was done in the Tydings-McDuffie Law providing "for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands." Thereafter in 1935, Governor-General Murphy journeyed to Washington to confer with the President and to clear up the threads of American-Philippine relations.

Uncertainty has ever been attendant on Philippine policy. It has been a severe handicap to the development of the Islands. That uncertainty is still with us, for although everyone hoped that the Tydings-McDuffie Law would finally dispel this uncertainty and allow business to chart its course for at

³ *Everybody's Magazine*, January, 1915.



HONORABLE FRANK MURPHY

Last Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, and first United States High Commissioner to the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

least ten years in the future, it seems that missions will be coming and going to secure modifications of the law. Under such conditions, probably all persons, even those against Philippine independence, will heave a sigh of relief when the question is finally definitely settled and uncertainty banned from American-Philippine relations.

American policy was begun as a noble experiment in altruism. It was to be "the Philippines for the Filipinos," the Americans acting as "trustees" for the benefit of the Filipino people, and a gradual development of self-government step by step which would culminate in Philippine independence. In the greater part of the American program these principles have been adhered to. However, it has been impossible to keep out selfish interests entirely. In the beginning, Filipinos were used to foster American purposes in the war against Spain and in the organization of the government. More recently certain sectors of public opinion in the United States were aroused by means of well-organized propaganda intended to shut out Filipino immigrants and Philippine products. A considerable part of the support for Philippine independence in later years has been motivated by sordid and mercenary considerations. However, this could not be avoided under the adverse financial situation which prevailed in the United States. Aside from these occasional manifestations of the weight of money against the might of principle, the American policy has otherwise been guided by a sincere desire to do impartially and uncomplainingly the most possible for the Filipino people.

THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED ⁴

Space does not permit of a history in all of its phases of the government established by the United States in the Philip-

⁴ See Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime* (1916), and *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (1917).

pines. Only the most general outlines of the development and structure of the Philippine Government can be sketched.

General Wesley Merritt assumed the duties of Military Governor of the Philippines on August 26, 1898. To him were transferred all of the war powers of the President. Soon after the First Philippine Commission, of which Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University, was chairman, was sent out to the Philippines by the President to investigate and recommend. In due time it submitted a report. The President thereupon appointed the Second Philippine Commission, headed by William Howard Taft, then a Federal Judge of Ohio, to establish a civil administration. In obedience to the instructions given the Commission the first task was the organization of local governments. Next the legislative branch was taken over from the military, and finally the executive branch. On July 4, 1901, Mr. Taft was inaugurated Civil Governor with simple but impressive ceremonies.

The administration of the government by the Philippine Commission extended until the creation of the Philippine Assembly in 1907. The Commission first made the laws and then executed them. After this time, the legislative power in the parts of the Islands not inhabited by the Moros and other non-Christians was shared by the Philippine Assembly. The Commission, however, retained its exclusive legislative jurisdiction over the provinces inhabited by the non-Christian peoples. With the creation of the Philippine Senate in 1916, all legislative power was transferred to a Philippine Legislature exclusively Filipino.

The title Civil Governor was almost immediately changed to Governor-General and has thus remained. The executive departments acting under the direction of the Governor-General were first manned by American officials. It was not long, however, until all of these executive positions, with the

sole exception of Secretary of Public Instruction, were administered by capable Filipinos.

As the old Philippine Government went out and the new Philippine Commonwealth came in, the latter found a government administered by an executive power at the head of which was an American Governor-General, assisted by seven department secretaries, six Filipinos and one American, the latter being the Vice Governor. It found a Philippine Legislature to which had been delegated general legislative power, only restricted by the regulatory authority vested in a few instances in the President and the veto power which could be exercised by the Governor-General. It found a judiciary independent from the two other branches, consisting of a Supreme Court, courts of first instance, and municipal and justice of the peace courts. All the courts had been Filipinized, with the exception of the Supreme Court, over which a Filipino Chief Justice presided, and with a majority of its members Filipinos.

When America, by the accident of war, was forced to set up a new government in the far-away Philippines, there was no light to guide its officials save the experience of European nations that had colonies in the Far East. But the generally accepted principles of colonization were repugnant to liberty-loving Americans. The only other model with which the Americans were acquainted was to be found in their early history in the Territory of Louisiana and in other acquisitions. Accordingly, the Philippine Government was patterned after a form of government with which Americans were most familiar. In many respects, the institutions provided for the Philippines were the same as those to be found in the United States. Where the Philippine Government differed from a typical American Government was in the concentration of unlimited power in the Governor-General, in the creation of a Council of State combining legislative and executive func-

tions, and in the authorization of technical assistants for the Governor-General in addition to those otherwise provided by law.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL ⁵

Spanning a little over three centuries, the Philippine Islands have had one hundred and twenty-two Spanish and American Chief Executives. Although seldom if ever recalled, the Philippines also had one English Governor, Mr. Dawsonne Drake, whose troubled experiences as deputy and provisional governor of Manila featured a brief stay during the Seven Years' War. The eleven Governors-General under the American régime were William Howard Taft, 1901-1904; Luke E. Wright, 1904-1906; Henry C. Ide, 1906; James F. Smith, 1906-1909; W. Cameron Forbes, 1909-1913; Francis Burton Harrison, 1913-1921; Leonard Wood, 1921-1927; Henry L. Stimson, 1928-1929; Dwight F. Davis, 1929-1932; Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., 1932-1933, and Frank Murphy, 1933-1935. Various Vice Governors have served as Chief Executives of the Islands in an *ad interim* capacity. The last Vice Governor was Dr. J. Ralston Hayden, a member of the political science department of the University of Michigan who had an intimate acquaintance with Philippine conditions, and who modestly and capably performed the duties of his office and filled in acceptably as Acting Governor-General.

My acquaintance with Governors-General of the Philippine Islands began in 1906 with General Smith, and ended with Mayor Murphy of Detroit, whom I accompanied from the United States to Manila when he came over to be the Islands' Chief Executive. In 1907 my mother made the long trip to visit me along with the party of Secretary of War and

⁵ See the books produced by two former Governors-General: Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence* (1922), and W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (1928).

Mrs. Taft, and after their arrival I was a spectator in the old barn of an opera house when Mr. Taft opened the Philippine Assembly. I have been privileged to listen to most of the inaugural addresses the Governors-General delivered and am familiar with the rest, and all these addresses without exception breathed a spirit of good will and good intentions. I found the American Chief Executives estimable gentlemen actuated by a sincere desire to advance the interests of the Philippines—and incidentally their own.

If into the gold of the make-up of the American Chief Executives there entered a baser alloy of personal ambition, and if they used their Philippine records as stepping stones to preferment, one could hardly blame them, for it is a natural manifestation of human desire. Taft left the Philippines to be successively Secretary of War, President of the United States, and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Wright to be Ambassador to Japan and Secretary of War; Ide to be Minister to Spain; Smith to be Judge of the United States Court of Customs Appeals; Forbes, after a quiet interval, to be Ambassador to Japan; and Stimson to be Secretary of State. Murphy, the last American Governor-General, has a bright future before him.

Nor should one be too critical if a Governor-General showed exaggerated deference to the Filipino leaders, for thereby a record of accomplishment was made and excellent publicity was obtained for American consumption. Indeed, American Governors-General and Filipino leaders were literally forced into close coöperation. Forbes made the then Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, Sergio Osmeña, his confidant, and a warm friendship was fostered. Harrison frankly admitted that he owed his appointment to Manuel L. Quezon. Roosevelt spoke to the same Quezon familiarly as "Manuel."

Of the American Governors-General, seven were Republicans and four Democrats, but two of the Democrats were named by Republican Presidents. In religion, nine of the

Governors-General were Protestants and two Catholics, but the two latter, Smith and Murphy, deeply resented any effort by strong Catholic elements to make use of a common religious belief to advance personal interests. The same ratio persisted in marital status, for nine were married, and two, Forbes and Murphy, were eligible bachelors. In wealth, it could be said that only three Governors-General, Forbes, Harrison, and Davis, were so fixed financially as to be able to be lavish in their expenditures.

The average length of gubernatorial service was three years. Ide served the shortest period, barely five months, and Harrison the longest, over seven years. In contrast, Cæsar was in Gaul eight years, Clive in India six years, Raffles in Java five years, while England kept Cromer in Egypt many years. The constant shifting of Spanish Governors-General drew from Rizal a bitter complaint in his novel, *Noli Me Tangere*. A continuation of the same unfortunate system in American times resulted in much loss of momentum and was detrimental to the service.

If I were to attempt hastily pen-pictures of the various American viceroys, I would in large strokes draw the following: Taft was the organizer of the Philippine Government who demonstrated constructive genius. He gave himself wholeheartedly to advance the welfare of the Filipinos, and was willing to see his popularity with them wane when he thought that they were unwisely rushing Philippine independence. I was not acquainted with Wright, but have been given to understand by old-timers that he swung to the other extreme from Taft by advocating equal opportunities for all in the Philippines. His administration was pointed to as a model tested by patriotic American standards. Ide was a good man who was not left in office long enough to be able to display his talents. Smith had an understanding of Filipino ways and gave the Islands a calm and uneventful administra-

tion. Forbes, known as "Caminero Forbes," concentrated on economic advancement, by various methods fostered it, and left the Islands with a splendid system of highways. Harrison was a liberal who put into practice the doctrines of the Democratic Party by permitting the Filipino leaders to give a practical demonstration of their aptitude for self-government, and who thereby won the esteem of the Filipino people. Wood was a typical pro-consul who brought back the Philippines to financial stability, battled valiantly with the Filipino leaders, and at last laid down his life in the service. Stimson was a lawyer and public man of the Elihu Root type, keen and analytical, who relied entirely on his own brain-power, and who in the Philippines was successful in closing the gap between the Governor-General and the Filipino leaders. Davis' Mona Lisa smile became famous in the Philippines, but in addition to amiability, he carried on the administration in a scrupulous manner and tackled and diminished graft. Roosevelt, with characteristic family energy, grappled with every problem which came his way, travelled extensively over the Islands, and made himself extremely popular with the masses. Murphy's recent administration has furnished a splendid example for the Filipinos to emulate. He has attacked every question deliberately, carefully, and conscientiously, has made the financial stability of the government and the social welfare of the people the keynotes of his administration, and has given demonstration of unselfish public service.

The two administrations most debated and most in contrast were furnished by Governor-General Harrison and Governor-General Wood.

Harrison was at outs with most local Americans in the Philippines from the very start. To begin with, although this was without Harrison's knowledge, from Washington came the following remarkable cable:

Washington

August 23, 1913

FORBES, MANILA

Confidential. Harrison confirmed August 21st. The President desires him to sail September 10th. Will it be convenient to have your resignation accepted September 1st? Harrison to accept and take oath of office September 2nd. The President desires to meet your convenience. Should Harrison take linen, silver, glass, china, and automobiles? What else would you suggest? Wife and children will accompany him. Please engage for him servants you leave.

MC INTYRE.

Following this *faux pas*, the announcement was cabled from Japan that the new Governor-General would appear at the ceremonies attendant on his arrival in a cut-away coat and silk hat. Great was the consternation among Manila officials who hastily resurrected top-hats and formal dress of ancient vintage from moth-balls and funeral-parlors. Anxiety was relieved when the reception committee dared to greet His Excellency attired in the plain white linen of the tropics.

On Harrison's arrival, the political guillotine was quickly put in commission, and official heads fell right and left. Undeterred by the cries of anguish or the obstacles put in his way, the Governor-General steadfastly carried out his policy of preparing the Islands for independence. Under such conditions it was to be expected that from Americans in the Islands Governor-General Harrison would receive very little support. To the same extent he became a prime favorite with the Filipinos.

The balm of time has healed to a marked extent the raw sore of the local American colony's antagonism toward Governor-General Harrison. Many Americans now acknowledge that they are able to see more clearly his purposes. They also now comprehend the necessity for the maintenance of

cordial relations with the Filipino people. And they will tell you of many understanding and constructive acts of the Governor-General. For instance, economic development, notably the sugar industry, received impetus from Harrison.

Personally I found Governor-General Harrison a genial host with charming manners, a receptive listener, and an excellent administrator entirely devoid of race prejudice who could quickly and rightly decide important questions of state. The popular belief that he was but a pliable tool in Filipino hands is incorrect. Harrison had a will of his own and could stand adamant when he was convinced that he was right. Take the Noriel case as an example. Against the strongest possible Filipino influence and in the face of suggested intervention by the President of the United States, Governor-General Harrison saw to it that General Noriel, convicted of murder, expiated his crime on the gallows.

Harrison went out. The Wood-Forbes Mission composed of General Leonard Wood and former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes came in and reported to the President on Philippine conditions. General Wood remained as Governor-General. He had been Military Governor of Cuba, had had a glamorous record in the Army which associated him with the Rough Riders and Colonel Roosevelt, had been denied participation at the front in the Great War, and had narrowly missed the Presidential nomination. His, therefore, was an experience which it was believed admirably fitted him for the Philippine post. First he straightened out the monetary problem of the Philippine Government. Next, and at frequent intervals, he visited all parts of the archipelago. He labored earnestly to give the Islands a clean and efficient administration.

Then a member of the Secret Service of Manila by the name of Conley became involved in serious charges. Before the case was concluded the Mayor of Manila and the Secretary of the Interior had asked for Conley's removal, but

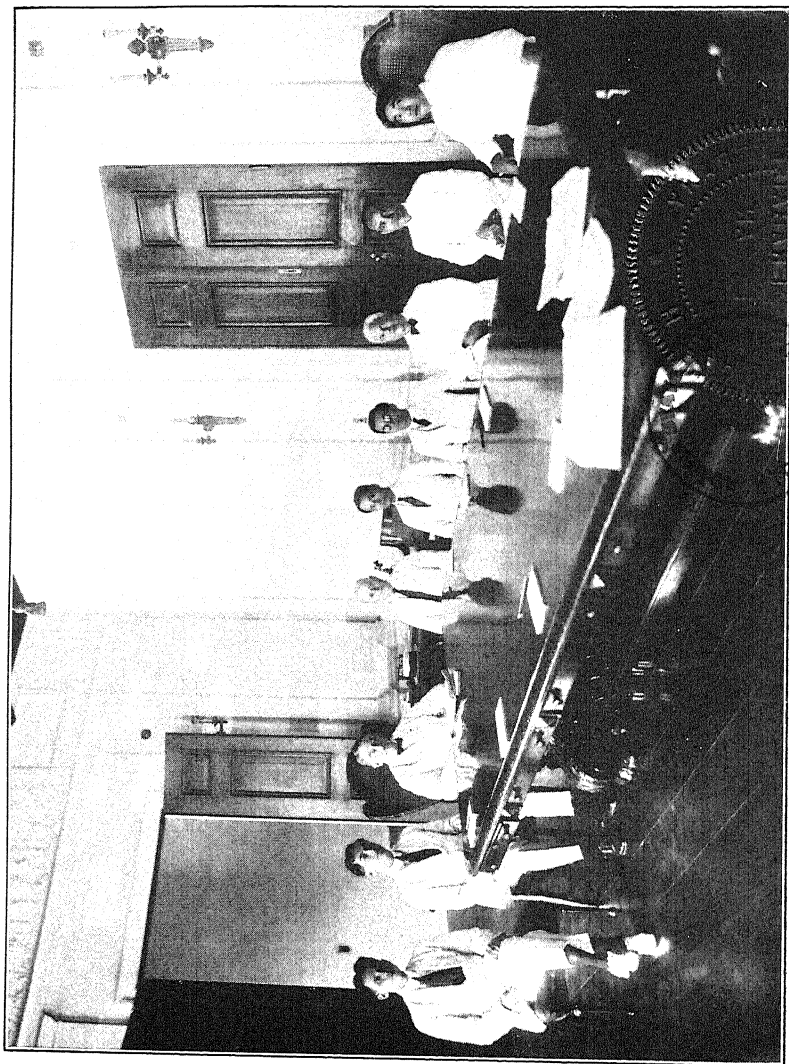
General Wood espoused his cause. The Filipino members of the Council of State dramatically presented their resignations. They were immediately accepted by the Governor-General. Later, the dispute reached a legal head in the Board of Control Cases which concerned the question of the authority respectively of the Governor-General and of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. I remember those cases distinctly, for I was assigned to write the opinion for the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, and had to resolve the contentions of the American Chief Executive on the one hand and of the Filipino leaders on the other hand. In so doing I had to forget the personal equation entirely, for both General Wood and President Quezon happened to be my intimate friends. In view of the wording of the Organic Act and of a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in an analogous case, it became my plain duty to decide in favor of the Governor-General. The United States Supreme Court sustained the decision of the Philippine Supreme Court. Still the controversy persisted until General Wood was dead and President Quezon was ill.

As this is written, I presume that even the bitterest foes of Governor-General Wood would concede that he gave loyal and disinterested service to the Philippines, and that he deserved the tribute of Lord Cromer as the man best fitted to untangle the problems of a colony or possession.

It remains to be said that a sharp contrast as to the conception of the powers of the Governor-General was afforded during the administrations of Governor-General Harrison and Governor-General Wood. Governor-General Harrison believed in living up to the spirit of the Organic Act and leaned heavily on the advice of the Filipino leaders. Governor-General Wood, on the contrary, believed in exercising all the powers which the Organic Act vested in the Governor-General, and in personally seeing to it that there was an effective administration of governmental affairs. As an illus-

GOVERNOR-GENERAL
LEONARD WOOD AND
THE COUNCIL OF
STATE

Before its members resigned in a body. Left to right: Secretary of Justice Jose Abad Santos; President of the Senate Manuel L. Quezon; Governor-General Leonard Wood; Vice Governor Eugene A. Gilmore; Speaker Manuel A. Roxas; Secretary of the Interior Jose P. Laurel; Secretary of Finance Alberto Barretto; Secretary of Commerce and Communications Salvador Laguda; Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources Rafael Corpus.



tration in the case of the veto power, so seldom did Mr. Harrison exercise this prerogative that from 1916 to 1920 he vetoed only five bills, while, in contrast, General Wood, from 1921 to 1927, disapproved one hundred and twenty-six bills.

A trait of the Filipinos generally recognized is that they yield their truest loyalty when there is at the head of affairs one man in supreme power. The Spaniards sensed this fact and accordingly gave to their Governors-General practically all the influence and standing of the Spanish monarch. With the change of sovereignty, the office of Governor-General remained, and the authority pertaining thereto was but slightly reduced. The tendency persisted to the last to look upon the Governor-General as possessing regal powers. Filipino citizens instead of laying their complaints before their own officials preferred to present them directly to the Governor-General. It is to be presumed that this tendency will continue, but that instead of the common man looking to the United States High Commissioner for redress of grievances, he will now be content to look to his fellow countryman who occupies the Presidency of the Commonwealth.

The Governor-General received a salary of 36,000 pesos (\$18,000) a year payable from the Philippine treasury. In addition, Malacañan Palace in Manila and the Mansion House in Baguio were set aside for his use. While these emoluments seemed attractive to Americans, in reality they were much less than the governors of British and Dutch colonies received. However, it was axiomatic that no Governor-General ever retired voluntarily from a post which, in spite of the requirement that a Governor-General possess a cast-iron digestive apparatus capable of withstanding a banquet at any hour and in spite of the responsibilities of the office, appealed to the ego in the man who occupied it.

Sic transit gloria mundi! The king is dead; long live the king! Taft set up a new democracy in the Orient and became the Filipinos' hero, but when he entered the lists against in-

dependence, he was grossly vilified. Harrison did his best to bring self-government to the Filipinos, but was savagely blamed for having done so at the expense of American interests. One enterprising periodical estimated that at the reception on the arrival of Governor-General Roosevelt it took the guests two hours to pass the receiving line, while at the reception on his departure, although universally acclaimed as "the most popular Governor-General the Islands ever had," a short fifteen minutes sufficed to greet the guests.

No longer will there be an American Governor-General in Malacañan Palace. Instead to a Filipino President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines will go the glory of the office and the responsibility which formerly rested on American shoulders. May his Excellency, the President, prove as capable as their Excellencies, his American predecessors.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE ⁶

Such a high-sounding name as "Council of State" is reminiscent of the pomp of a European monarchy. One hardly expects to meet with an institution of this nature in a territory united to a democracy like the United States. But the Council of State set up in the Philippines by the Governor-General, with the acquiescence and probably on the suggestion of the Filipino leaders, was quite an innocuous body. Governor-General Harrison created it by executive order, and Governor-General Stimson, after some hesitation, rehabilitated it by the same means but with diminished powers.

The Council of State included as members the Governor-General, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Majority Floor Leader of the Senate, the Majority Floor Leader of the House of Representatives, and the heads of the seven executive departments.

⁶ See Malcolm and Kalaw, *Philippine Government*, revised edition of 1932, Ch. XII.

It was presided over by the Governor-General and met at his call to advise him on matters of public policy.

The Council of State was created to provide unified and responsible leadership and to bring into accord the executive and legislative departments. Of doubtful legality under the American theory of government, especially when the enforcement of certain laws was made dependent on action by the Council of State, nevertheless the body proved invaluable in serving as a means to harmonize the divergent views of an American Chief Executive and a Filipino Legislature.

BELO BOYS⁷

To be called "boy" is hardly respectful when referring to one of the coterie of advisers of his Excellency, the Governor-General. Yet the American gentlemen who assisted the Chief Executive were colloquially and irreverently spoken of as "Belo boys." The first word was acquired from Senator Antonio Belo, who won undying fame by introducing the bill which provided funds for the payment of a secretarial and technical staff for the Governor-General. The second word was coined by someone with a sense of sardonic humor, to typify the messenger-like services occasionally required of those in the inner circle about the Chief Executive.

From the earliest days the Governor-General needed trained help in administering the Philippines. For a number of years he could obtain this help from his American cabinet officers and special assistants. Governor-General Forbes' fondness for polo and his importation of polo ponies and young Harvard graduates caused the public to speak of his closest confidants as the "Polo Cabinet." With the Filipinizing of the executive departments during the Harrison administration, it was thought imperative that there be suitable Ameri-

⁷ See Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood, A Biography* (1931), Vol. II, p. 459.

can advisers for the Governor-General. The only available source of supply was the War Department, and so from the Army, officers were detached to assist the Governor-General. These men, mostly experts in Philippine affairs by virtue of years of experience, were headed by Brigadier General Frank McCoy, who was genuinely liked by all classes in the Philippines. They included as able and efficient aides Halstead Dorey, George Langhorne, and Gordon Johnston, all comrades of General Wood.

A policy of this sort could not go on indefinitely. Even if the accusation was not true, it smacked too much, at least in name, of military government. So when Henry L. Stimson was asked to succeed to the Philippine gubernatorial post, being alive to the need for coöperation, he laid down as a condition precedent to his acceptance of the office that he be provided with a corps of technical advisers. At the behest of Washington and with the conformity of the Filipino leaders, the Belo Bill was railroaded through the Philippine Legislature. This legislation allotted to the Governor-General the sum of 250,000 pesos (\$125,000) annually to be expended according to his own judgment in the employment of American assistants. Excellent men, some recruited from the Philippines and others brought from the United States, including capable Army officers, have served well and faithfully the Governor-General and hence the Filipino people.

The result of all this has been that the Governor-General was advised by the Council of State, the Cabinet, and the "Belo boys." Surely, after all that counsel, the Chief Executive could not go wrong, if only the poor man could find time to digest all the expert advice proffered.

My own acquaintance with the members of the "Polo Cabinet" of Forbes, the "Cavalry Cabinet" of Wood, and the "Belo boys" of Stimson, Davis, Roosevelt, and Murphy, impels me to state that these fine American gentlemen, while modestly keeping in the background and permitting their

superior to have the spotlight, gave full measure of loyal and intelligent service.

THE AMERICAN RECORD IN THE PHILIPPINES ⁸

We may be too close to passing events to form a just estimate of the defects and merits of the American administration in the Philippines. Further, I may be prejudiced in favor of a government of which I formed a part, and may be inclined to look with too kindly an eye on errors of omission or commission. So for the benefit of some future historian, I will simply make an attempt to provide a rough inventory of the bad and good points of the government.

Tested by the colonial standards of other governments, the United States failed miserably in her Philippine adventure. In 1898 the United States was afforded an opportunity to give the Islands a good government, to develop their resources, and to eschew politics. Instead, ranking American officials encouraged the Filipinos to expect ultimate independence, gradually shifted control from American hands into inexperienced Filipino hands, and partially neglected economic development. The only adequate answer to criticism of this sort is to reiterate the platitude that the United States saw fit to set up a new ethical standard in dealing with a dependent people, to guide that people along the path to self-sufficiency, and to forswear American advantages.

As was to be expected, there were a few dark spots in the American record in the Philippines. That mistakes were made is indubitably true. Some things have been done which might better have been left undone. Other things have been neglected. Errors of judgment expensive to the taxpayers were committed. Injustices and wrongs were occasionally perpetrated. All this is undeniable.

⁸ See Daniel R. Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (1913), Ch. xvii.

Along with the good in American life it was inevitable for the bad to be propagated in the Philippines. High standards of living were encouraged by temporary and artificial economic development. Extravagance not at all in accord with income resulted. Luxury instead of self-denial was tacitly sanctioned. Too frank imitation of the American moral code caused a loosening of the Filipino moral code. Jazz music was imported to take the place of native and classical music. Cheap literature was allowed to flood the news-stands. These are a few of the things that have corrupted Philippine life and for which blame must be laid at America's door. Fortunately these are mere ephemeral expressions of present-day tendencies and are not impossible of eradication.

A government may be one of laws, but it has to be administered by men. In the early days of the Philippines and occasionally in later days, the public servants were not always honest. Some occupying positions of trust had to be prosecuted criminally. That was to be expected when untried men were put in offices of responsibility and weakly yielded to temptation. Except for these isolated exceptions, the Americans in the service of the Philippine Government were high-grade men and women, inspired by unselfish motives. They were far above the personnel of the State governments in character, ideals, and efficiency.

What America did in the Philippines is an open book which all who will may read. American accomplishments are so numerous as to defy exact enumeration. With apologies for necessary omissions, permit me to write down on the credit side a few of the most notable triumphs of the government.

It is puzzling to know exactly where to begin. Possibly education would be as proper a topic as any, for whatever else the American does, he invariably feels that it is necessary to afford an opportunity for instruction to all. An educational system was established which furnished Filipino children with

the chance to obtain an education. This was one of the most important and permanent of American legacies to the Filipino people. The improvement of health and sanitation is another typical American policy. Health and quarantine services were established; smallpox and cholera were nearly stamped out; the lepers were isolated and well cared for, and the insane were afforded considerate treatment. Pages could be written in laudatory terms based on the facts that are here mentioned. Passing on to equally important matters, the Islands were given a sound and convenient currency to replace the fluctuating medium which made a gamble of business operations in the Islands. A civil service free from politics and broader in scope than the American civil service was established. An admirable state of public order was brought about, and brigandage and lawlessness were suppressed. To accomplish this, a native constabulary was trained which succeeded in an excellent manner in policing the Islands. The judicial system was reformed, procedure was simplified, and an independent judiciary provided in which the people could have confidence. The uncertainty with reference to land titles was eradicated by adopting the Torrens land-registration system. Politically, the people were afforded an opportunity to receive training in a system of popular government. Economically, America contributed largely to progress in the Philippines, particularly by throwing open the American market to Philippine exports.

A word as to the material side of American accomplishment in the Philippines. When Commodore Dewey entered Manila Bay, there were no resident American companies in the Islands. That was four decades ago. Today the American investment in the Philippines is estimated at 600,000,000 pesos (\$300,000,000). However, it has been argued that American occupation has been a losing proposition because the United States treasury has spent nearly 2,000,000,000

pesos (\$1,000,000,000) in the Philippines. Eliminating from Philippine expenditures American military and naval expenses, the total would be reduced by at least one-half. Also, while the Philippines has enjoyed the advantages of a favorable trade balance, the United States has actually gained millions of dollars from its exports to the Islands. Probably a fair deduction would be that Americans and Filipinos alike have benefited from their reciprocal relations.

One could go on indefinitely naming and analyzing American contributions to Philippine progress. With reference to this progress, every American official would of course generously concede that it could not have been obtained without Filipino coöperation. Had the Filipino leaders balked, little could have been done for their people. It was by combined American incentive and Filipino backing and capacity that so much was accomplished for the good of the Islands within a comparatively short span of years.

The American and Filipino peoples have been in contact for less than forty years. That is a brief period as time is counted in universal history. Yet no one can review the achievements of American stay in the Philippines without granting it to be a signal triumph over unusual difficulties. The American régime was immeasurably the best government that the Philippines has ever known. It does not suffer by comparison with the administrations of the Dutch in Java, the English in India, the French in Indo-China, and the Japanese in Formosa. Or to bring the parallelism nearer home, no city, county, or state within the United States has a system of government better concentrated or more harmoniously and efficiently administered than the Philippines has had.

WORCESTER AND CARPENTER ⁹

Two outstanding figures under the American administration in the Philippines, who did as much for the Islands as any Governor-General, were Dean C. Worcester and Frank W. Carpenter. I was privileged to know them both, Worcester because a fellow alumnus of the University of Michigan, and Carpenter because when I first favored Manila with my unobtrusive presence, he was the one official to extend a helping hand to a needy young man. This Carpenter did by foisting my inexperience on Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Director of Health, to be his inefficient voucher clerk.

Worcester and Carpenter were the direct antithesis of each other in certain respects. Where Worcester was brusque, Carpenter was tactful. Where Worcester drew from the Philippine Assembly a resolution of censure, unanimously adopted, for offensive statements tending to sow distrust between the Americans and the Filipinos, Carpenter was granted special remuneration by the Philippine Legislature "in recognition of the extraordinary services rendered by him to the Government of the Philippine Islands."

Worcester's place in Philippine history has been determined by various authorities. On the other hand, Carpenter's record has not been given the prominence that it deserves. I would do justice, even though belated, to the latter.

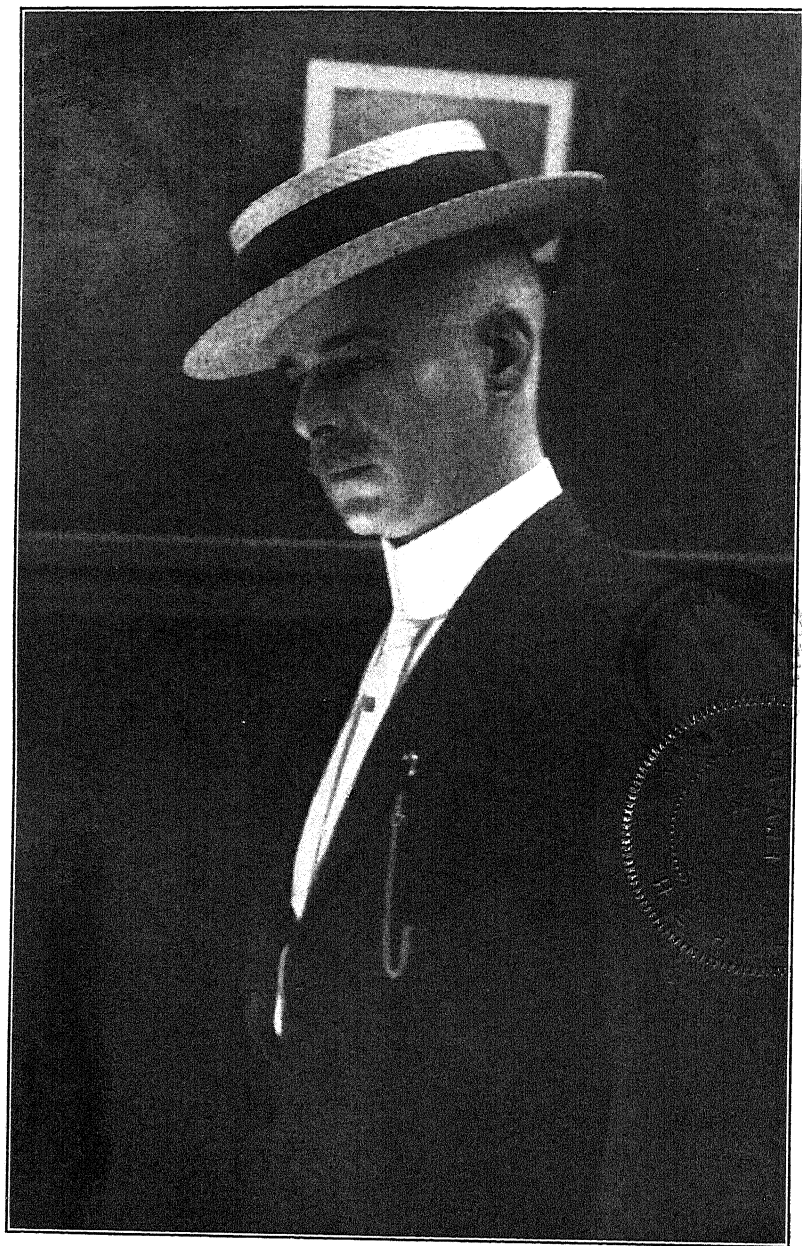
Frank W. Carpenter came out to the Philippines in the days of the empire as a soldier in the United States Army. He soon gravitated to the old Executive Bureau and became its assistant chief. When Arthur W. Fergusson died, Carpenter succeeded him as executive secretary. In those days the Executive Bureau was the clearing house of the entire

⁹ See Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, Mr. Worcester's most authoritative work on the Philippines, containing a biographical sketch of Mr. Worcester by Dr. Hayden; and W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (1928), standard and exhaustive reference work on the Philippines, in which Mr. Carpenter collaborated.

Philippine Government. It had supervision over provincial and municipal governments; it maintained relations with foreign representatives; it kept an eye on insular and local finances; it prepared the government budget, and it acted as an outer office for the Governor-General. To these important duties Carpenter brought ability of a high order and industry which knew no office hours. Carpenter was the *alter ego* of various Governors-General, and through his diplomacy bridged many a painful breach.

In those days Carpenter was a familiar figure in Manila. Ordinarily he was dressed in white, his high-collared coat opened at the throat, a cheap straw hat resting obliquely and jauntily on his head. His one dissipation was indulging in innumerable cigarettes. Formal society he shunned. But every afternoon found him at the round table at Clarke's Restaurant where gathered Manila's men-about-town. Then back to his office he went to receive the endless stream of callers of all classes with whom he was able to converse interchangeably in English, Spanish, or Tagalog.

In 1913 General Pershing was relieved as Governor of Mindanao and Sulu by Carpenter, who became the first civilian Governor of the newly created Department of Mindanao and Sulu. To his new work Governor Carpenter brought his natural aptitude for administration which he used to good purpose. He inaugurated a policy of attraction, which meant in practice leaving the Moros to their own devices as to customs and religious beliefs, but otherwise governing them with a firm hand. It has been said of Carpenter's work in Moroland that what had not been accomplished by hundreds of years of warfare he accomplished in a few years by wise administration. In a short time, Carpenter brought the Moros and the Filipinos amicably together and substituted order and trust for bloodshed and suspicion. No other one official was ever so successful in handling the Moros as was Frank W. Carpenter.



FRANK W. CARPENTER

Former Executive Secretary and Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, a popular and capable American administrator.

On Carpenter's post-government life I would not dwell. An unfortunate business venture, broken health, life in a Japanese village, a sea voyage—and then the righting of himself. Carpenter became associated with W. Cameron Forbes, his former chief, but is now living in retirement in Washington.

Dean C. Worcester and Frank W. Carpenter, colorful figures in America's great experiment in the Philippines, were never to see their life work crowned by appointment as Governor-General, but neither was disgruntled because of this lack of recognition. They were content with the credit which goes with a task well done.

CHAPTER VI

PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM ¹

DEVELOPMENT ²

At the time of the conquest of the Philippines by the Spaniards, the people had no common government, religion, or language. Racial consciousness had not asserted itself. National solidarity was lacking. Even for centuries after the Spaniards arrived bringing with them their religion, language, and culture, any betterment that occurred in the Philippines was individualistic and not nationalistic in nature. The individual might improve his own condition, but was not acquainted with the people residing beyond the confines of his hamlet and might even be on unfriendly terms with them. It was not until the opening of the nineteenth century that changes took place in the relations of the Filipinos with each other and in their outlook on life.

As the system imposed by Spain changed gradually the life of the people, so did it likewise cause grievances. The enlarged commercial contact with the outer world, the construction of the Suez Canal, and the increasing number of Filipino youths who secured educations in Europe apprized the few of their nationality, and they in turn enlightened their less fortunate countrymen. The liberal tendencies of the nineteenth century were reflected in the Philippines. In the late eighties and early nineties of that century a number of young men, among whom Dr. Jose Rizal and Marcelo H.

¹ This chapter was read by Professor Maximo M. Kalaw, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Chief of the Department of Political Science in the University of the Philippines.

² See Maximo M. Kalaw, *Philippine Social Science* (1933), Part III.

del Pilar were the leading spirits, organized the Filipinos residing in Europe. Rizal with almost divine vision was inspired to write his crusading novels depicting the social cancer in the Philippines, and then with equally inspired heroism gave his life to his country. *La Liga Filipina* ("The Philippine League"), founded by Rizal in 1892, developed the patriotic spirit of the Filipinos and encouraged petitions for governmental changes. The reforms desired beat against the inertia of Spanish officialdom, only to be thrown back to lead the petitioners to espouse more drastic measures. The *Katipunan* organized by Andres Bonifacio and other patriots, with more radical purposes including secession from Spain, succeeded the Philippine League. Revolts unified the people by giving them a common purpose, and provided leaders to extend the movement.

Too late Spain dimly realized her mistake in denying justice to the Filipino people. The Maura Law, taking its name from the Spanish minister of the colonies, was provided to liberalize municipal government in the Philippines, but was never made effective. Again during Spain's declining years in the Philippines, a Consultative Assembly was decreed made up of leading Filipinos, but this attempted reform likewise came too tardily to serve any purpose. The only effect of these belated measures was to solidify Filipino public opinion and to accentuate the vacillating and compromising attitude of the Spanish officials.

After American occupation, Filipino aspirations met with disappointment. However, education of the masses was begun and proved to be a prime factor in moulding nationalism. Every teacher automatically became an apostle of independence when he taught the stories of American history. What school-child could read of Patrick Henry and his "Give me liberty or give me death," and of Washington, the father of his country, and not apply the lessons to Philippine conditions? With the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in

1907 Filipino unity was effectively reassumed and has been militantly aggressive ever since.

REVOLTS AGAINST SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ³

Many revolts featured the Spanish rule. A few were serious enough to leave enduring records. For instance, in 1872 Fathers Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora were executed for supposedly seditious activities. Nevertheless, until 1896 Filipino uprisings were local in nature. But in that year the peaceful campaign for a more liberal government suddenly shifted to a bloody war to secure independence for the Philippines. Rizal bravely faced a firing squad and became the national hero. About the same time the *Katipunan*, or to give it its full name, the *Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan Ng Mga Anak Ng Bayan*, which being translated is "Highest and Most Respectable Association of the Sons of the People," started a widespread revolt among the masses. General Emilio Aguinaldo, who had become the Filipino leader, proclaimed independence as his purpose. After being temporarily checked by the Pact of Biak-na-bato, which was an agreement for a truce between the Spanish Governor-General and General Aguinaldo, revolt broke out anew in the Philippines.

Unfortunate misunderstandings of the Filipinos and Americans brought about three years of struggle between these two forces. In March, 1901, General Aguinaldo was captured by Funston and his Macabebe scouts. Soon after, Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States and issued a manifesto to the Filipino people in favor of peace. He said, "In recognizing and accepting the sovereignty of the United States over the archipelago, as I do now without any reservation whatsoever, I believe I am serving thee, beloved Philippines! Mayest thou be happy!" Still the insurgents carried on for a year longer. Then General Miguel Malvar, signing

³ See Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (1925).

as commander-in-chief and supreme head of the Filipino Government, issued a manifesto in which he proclaimed to all concerned that the war carried on against the authority of the United States by the Filipino people had ended. On July 4, 1902, amnesty was proclaimed by President Roosevelt and the military régime was terminated.

Even such a serious matter as a revolution against Spain had its ludicrous side. Pedro A. Paterno acted as the peace-maker between the Filipino insurgents and the Spanish officials, became President of the Malolos Congress, and was a member of the First Philippine Assembly. He was a man of ability through which, unfortunately, radiated overly developed egotism. Don Pedro was sorely disappointed when, according to his opinion, the Spanish Government failed to remunerate him for his valuable services. Very modestly he addressed a letter to a high authority which concluded, "For family reasons, I want a title of Castille, that of Prince or Duke, if possible, and to be a Grandee of the first class, free of nobility patent fees and the sum of . . . once for all."

The Philippine Revolution against the United States also furnished an example of patriotism carried to the extreme in General Artemio Ricarte, the only unreconstructed Filipino. During the war Ricarte had assumed the title of "The Viper." He was captured by the Americans, and when he refused to take the oath of allegiance was deported to Guam. When it was decided to release the political prisoners, Ricarte was brought back to Manila, and when he still refused to acknowledge American sovereignty was again deported. For years General Ricarte with his family has resided in Japan, stubbornly adhering to his original attitude of non-conformity to the established régime.

The Filipinos in their revolts against Spain and the United States proved their mettle as brave fighters. The Spanish forces they practically eliminated from the Philippines. Against the Americans the Filipinos fought valiantly, as vet-

erans of the Spanish-American War have repeatedly and generously testified. But as General Aguinaldo said when he laid down his arms, the Filipinos found their advance along the path of their aspirations for freedom impeded by an irresistible force. Wisely, therefore, the Filipino leaders sought to obtain by peaceful methods what could never have been obtained by force, and won in this game by adroit and skilful moves.

THE EPHEMERAL PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC ⁴

Due to the collapse of the Revolution, the Philippine Republic was little more than a name. It was notable because it afforded an opportunity for the display of forceful leadership, promulgated valuable state papers, and consolidated individual Filipinos into a nation with a common ideal, the independence of their country.

Soon after General Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines from Hongkong to take up the fight against the Spaniards, he proclaimed a dictatorial government. Within a month, that is, on June 23, 1898, he changed from a dictatorship to a revolutionary government. In turn, the revolutionary government evolved into the Philippine Republic, at least in name. The pressure of the American forces permitted of little concrete accomplishment by the short-lived republic.

General Aguinaldo, it should be stated, was the Captain General of the Filipino forces, the supreme head of the dictatorial government, and the President of the Philippine Republic. He performed his duties with the assistance of army officers and a civilian cabinet. The capital of the revolutionary government was at Malolos, Bulacan. There a revolutionary congress assembled and drafted what is known as the Malolos Constitution for the Philippine Republic.

The character of the Philippine Republic has been much

⁴ See Emilio Aguinaldo, *Riseña Veridica de la Revolucion Filipina* ("True Version of the Philippine Revolution") (1899), and Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina* ("The Philippine Revolution") (1902).

debated. On the one hand, various gratuitous epithets have been used to delineate the revolutionary government, such as "a bouffe government," "a tinhorn government," "the paper government of the Filipinos." Most vigorous condemnation came from the first American Civil Governor: "While we were there the Filipinos had a government under Aguinaldo of five or six months—perhaps a little longer—and there never was in the history of those islands, in the palmiest days of Spanish tyranny, such corruption, such tyranny, such a want altogether of a decent government, as there was under Aguinaldo, demonstrating to those who were there that it was absolutely impossible to turn the islands over to that government, or to those people at that time." On the other extreme are those who wildly exaggerate Filipino capacity during this period in order to substantiate present capacity. To them it would seem that the only Republic in Asia, set up by the only Christian people in the Far East, was crushed—a genuine government of promise extinguished. Judicially weighing the facts, undoubtedly neither of the antagonists was right. Only a few deductions capable of being substantiated are possible.

In the first place, the Filipino Government was principally a Tagalog enterprise; nevertheless it was recognized in practically every Christian portion of the archipelago. In the second place, from the standpoint of international law, the Filipino Government was of the class known as "*de facto* government." And in the third place, the Philippine Republic during the short time it existed gave indications of an earnest desire to furnish a government for the people fitted to their needs and progressively beneficial. However, it was only in the Malolos Congress that the ablest Filipinos were afforded an opportunity to make use of their talents, and this they did, according to those present, with great decorum and with a display of parliamentary law that compared favorably with the Japanese Diet.

The Philippine Republic has been too long dead to be resuscitated. It now serves simply as a lesson in Philippine patriotism. The real Philippine Republic can gain inspiration for the accomplishment of its purposes from the history of the original Philippine Republic, but will be forced to lay down its foundations anew without the help of prior experience.

PROGRESS TOWARD PHILIPPINE AUTONOMY ⁵

A corollary of the American Philippine policy, nay more than that, the paramount plank, was to provide step by step the institutions of self-government for the Filipino people. As the Jones Law, enacted by the Congress, expressed the thought, "it was desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them, without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the right of sovereignty by the people of the United States."

At first municipal governments were established. Then provincial governments. In both governments the important officers were chosen by the suffrage of the people.

The same plan was carried out in the executive departments of the central government, only more slowly. Gregorio Araneta became the first Filipino head of an executive department, that of Finance and Justice, and Manuel Tiño the first Filipino chief of a bureau, that of Labor. This process continued until instead of there being one Filipino cabinet officer, all the members of the cabinet were Filipinos, with the exception of an American Secretary of Public Instruction. Little by little, portions of the powers lodged in the Governor-General were chipped off to fall into the hands of Filipino officials. In the Council of State, the heads of the executive departments and the leaders of the Legislature

⁵ See Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence* (1922).

shared with the Governor-General the responsibility of formulating general policies.

The legislative power was handed over to the representatives of the Filipino people partially when the Philippine Assembly was organized. The same power was more completely granted the representatives of the people when the Philippine Legislature was made to consist of the House of Representatives and the Philippine Senate. As the Philippine Legislature thus had a grant of authority direct from the people, efforts were continuously made to extend its power. To this end the principle of partial cabinet responsibility to the Legislature received practical application. But just as there were those who doubted the wisdom of imposing a super cabinet of American advisers on the Philippine Government, so there were those who ironically referred to the Council of State as the fourth side of the triangle, and who pointed to an extra-legal development of Filipino self-government through the predominating influence of the Legislature and the identification of party leadership with government leadership.

Immediately on the inauguration of the American Government in the Philippines, Filipino judges were chosen for the bench. These included a Filipino Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and a number of Associate Justices of that Court, and Judges of First Instance. The practice was continued of having a Filipino Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but not until 1935 were the Filipinos given a majority of its members. In the lower courts, the process of *Filipinization* (replacement of Americans by Filipinos) meant the gradual elimination of all American judges.

Beginning with the President's instructions to the Second Philippine Commission, it became the consistent governmental policy to give preference to the Filipinos in the selection of officers and employees. The rapid progress in the direction of *Filipinization* is borne out by the fact that while in 1903 the

number of Americans and Filipinos in the service were about equal, thirty years later for every American in the service there were sixty Filipinos. To provide for competent Filipino officials in particular fields, what were known as *pensionados* were given scholarships in the United States and Europe. On the return of these specially trained Filipinos, they were expected to serve the government in repayment for their educations. The elimination of Americans from the government service was accelerated by a very ingenious device known as the Osmeña Law, by the terms of which those who applied for retirement before a certain date, since extended from year to year, became entitled to a gratuity. Large numbers of American officials availed themselves of this privilege because of the uncertainty of their tenure of office.

As the Government of the Philippine Islands passed out of existence, it was a government well prepared for the exercise of autonomous powers. Municipal, provincial, and legislative officials were practically all Filipinos. Except for American Justices of the Supreme Court, the judiciary was Filipino. Except for an American Governor-General and a few scattered American officials, the executive department was Filipino. American sovereignty was solely represented by an American Governor-General, an American Insular Auditor, and American members on the Supreme Court. With an easy transition feasible, all powers residing in these few American officials could be transferred to their Filipino successors and the government could be changed without stopping or injuring its machinery.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ⁶

No subject in American or Philippine politics has induced more heated and inconclusive debates. Reams of paper have

⁶ Contrast Harry B. Hawes, *Philippine Uncertainty* (1932), with Daniel R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines* (1924).

been used to spell out arguments pro and con. Tons of breath have been utilized in attempts to convince listeners who would not be convinced. The continental American knew little of the Philippines and cared less. The insular American had a ready and ingenious solution of the Philippine problem all his own with which no other insular American agreed. The Filipino clamored for independence, thinking it the right thing to do, not knowing what independence meant. All wasted effort. Not until natural forces intervened was Philippine independence granted; American labor to keep out cheap Filipino labor, American farmers to keep out competing Philippine sugar and coconut oil. Not until then was the Philippine problem solved by the passage of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law and its successor, the Tydings-McDuffie Law—to the complete satisfaction of no one. Paradoxically, it was America that declared its independence from the Philippines and not the Philippines that obtained their independence.

Philippine independence had its beginnings in Chief Lapu Lapu's aggressive fight against Magellan. It had its outcroppings in minor revolts against foreign control. It received inspiration from Del Pilar, Rizal, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo. Formally the latter proclaimed independence at Cavite on June 12, 1898. It was a patriotic but inconclusive gesture.

The Philippine Assembly was organized and provided a fit forum for the expression of public opinion. At the close of its initial work and after it had demonstrated its willingness to coöperate with the American Government, Speaker Sergio Osmeña arose to deliver an address in which he said:

Allow me, gentlemen of the House, following the dictates of my conscience as a delegate, as a representative of the country, under my responsibility as Speaker of this House, to declare solemnly as I do now before God and before the world, that we believe that our people aspire for their independence, that our people consider themselves capable of leading an orderly life, efficient for themselves and for others, in the concert of free and

civilized nations, and that we believe that if the people of the United States were to decide at this moment the Philippine cause in favor of the Filipinos the latter could, in assuming the consequent responsibility, comply with their duties to themselves and to others, without detriment to liberty, to justice, and to right.

The statements of the Speaker were embodied in a formal resolution, although far from being unanimously adopted, and the Resident Commissioner elect, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, was authorized to make known to the Congress of the United States, Philippine aspirations for independence as expressed at the meeting of the Assembly. Regularly thereafter, as annually the Philippine Assembly or the Philippine Legislature convened, independence resolutions were approved without dissent and coursed on their way to Washington.

The campaign for Philippine independence has had two aspects, the one Philippine and the other American. At home the purpose of the Filipino leaders has been to encourage the development of an opinion solidly back of the movement for independence, to furnish a practical demonstration of aptitude for self-government, and to support agitation in the United States. Away from the Philippines, the effort has been to appeal to the justice of the American people to make good their promises of independence, to justify the statement that a stable government has been established, and to win assistance in any quarter where it could be obtained.

It can justly be said that the Filipino side of the independence question was effectively presented to the American people for the first time by Resident Commissioner Quezon. The sentiment fostered by him and others was so nearly completely successful that when the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Law, providing for the granting of quick independence, was offered in the United States Senate, it was adopted when the Vice President cast his deciding vote affirmatively, but was later rejected by the House of Representatives. The Jones

Law without the Clarke Amendment was approved, and in its preamble there appeared a promise of independence.

In 1919 and periodically thereafter Philippine Missions were sent to the United States. Funds to defray the expenses of commissions of independence were first provided by legislative enactment. Later Insular Auditor Wright, in consonance with an opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States of April 30, 1924, ruled that the use of public moneys for this purpose was illegal. Voluntary contributions were then solicited to carry on the campaign.

A frank appraisal of the work accomplished by Philippine Missions would justify the conclusions: first, that the money of the public and of the people was all too often squandered to permit of missionaries living in luxury, and second, that persons were assigned to these missions so lacking in training and in the use of the English language as to prove of no help in fostering Philippine ideas. The main burden of the whole campaign fell on the shoulders of two men, Speaker and Senator Sergio Osmeña and Resident Commissioner and President Manuel L. Quezon.

A question often asked: Do the Filipinos sincerely want independence? The Wood-Forbes Mission sent to the Philippines by President Harding, the Thompson Mission sent to the Philippines by President Coolidge, and other American missions and investigators have invariably reported that the Filipinos do want their independence. Senator Harry B. Hawes, one of the authors of the independence measure which carries his name, came to the Philippines for the particular purpose of seeking an answer to the question. An independence parade in Manila, conservatively estimated at 200,000, and innumerable paraders in other localities, answered the question affirmatively to the entire satisfaction of the genial Senator.

When the statement is made that the great majority of the Filipinos desire independence, there is meant the Christian

Filipinos. Yet among them there has been a minority more vocal in early days than at present, who desired to work along more conservative ways and to maintain close relations with the United States. These few were treated by fellow Filipinos as *Americanistas*, this being a derogatory term. As to the non-Christian peoples, the evidence tends to show that either they have no opinion on the question or that they are opposed to the grant of independence. It is not impossible that the reason why so many of the Moros will have nothing to do with the independence movement has been because of the pressure exerted by certain Americans.

While American sentiment in the United States has been nearly equally divided on Philippine independence, no such cleavage has occurred among Americans in the Philippines. Undoubtedly a large majority of the Americans living in the Islands have either actively opposed early independence or have given it no assistance. The formation of an adequate Philippine policy along liberal lines was for many years stoutly resisted by Americans with business interests in the Philippines. A regular campaign to thwart the agitation for Philippine independence was financed from Manila. One of the arguments much favored was that since the Philippine Islands were a part of the American domain, they could only be alienated by a constitutional amendment. In one pamphlet distributed by the American Chamber of Commerce in 1924 it was said, "We are here by right, we are here by conquest and we have a title by conquest and a title by purchase. We are here as possessors, and we are here as sovereigns; we are here as owners and controllers of absolute sovereignty." The only manifest effect of this sort of propaganda was to irritate the Filipinos and to induce them to put forth greater efforts to secure their independence.

In recent years the propaganda of the retentionists has been overshadowed by propaganda emanating from American interests in the United States intended to hasten the grant of

independence. Among these forces have been counted Union Labor, the National Farm Organizations, the National Dairy Organizations, certain classes of manufacturers, and the representatives of the sugar-beet and sugar-cane States. Important financial interests, with heavy investments in Cuba, to serve their own purposes of obtaining the American market for Cuban sugar, are also not above the suspicion of having aided and abetted those who favor Philippine independence. The independence question, therefore, instead of being kept on a high ethical plane has degenerated in part into a sordid mess stirred up by many selfish interests.

My own investigation on the much-mooted question of Philippine independence leads me to these conclusions: The Filipino people have wanted their independence. American officials, whether rightly or wrongly, have led the Filipino people to think that some day and somehow the Philippines would be free and independent. The Filipino people were also induced to carry on an agitation for independence for patriotic reasons. If they had not displayed a characteristic to be found in the history of all races, who have ever been desirous of guiding their own destinies, the Filipinos would have displayed weakness of character. The few Filipinos who have not desired independence for the Philippines have been those with large financial interests, those so intellectually clear thinking as to see that the Filipinos have enjoyed all the benefits of independence without its responsibilities, and those who like their predecessors, the *mestizos* of Spanish times, have become parasites on the American Government.

It is true that Filipinos will tell you in strict confidence that they do not favor independence, but that they cannot say so publicly. Why is this? The principal reason is the desire of the Filipino to say the thing that pleases, and he assumes that Americans are enemies of independence. The weight of this class who attempt to play both ends for the middle is not great, for it is easy to understand that if they tell the Ameri-

cans that they are against independence, they will as quickly whisper in the ear of a nationalist leader that they are ardent patriots ever desirous of sacrificing their all for their beloved country.

My personal observation is that in the years 1934 and 1935, when the Filipinos have independence within their grasp, they are not nearly so anxious for it as when it was denied them. It was all very well to orate about American oppression. It was all very fine to have a perennial campaign issue of immediate and complete independence. It was all very convenient to be afforded an opportunity to go on long trips at government expense to the United States and Europe. The actual grant of independence has for the first time brought home to the masses of the people a sobering sense of the responsibilities which must be assumed and of the sacrifices which must be made. Many Filipinos, if now afforded a graceful exit from a too successful liberty campaign, would gladly pass through the door, content to live peacefully and humbly under the slight and generous American control. But it is too late.

NATIONALIST LEADERS

It was previously remarked that six or seven men charted the Philippine policy of the United States. A similar observation holds good for Philippine nationalism. In addition, by coincidence or otherwise, it is worthy of note that leaders of Philippine thought appeared on the scene by pairs. Marcelo H. del Pilar and Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon, to these six, modern Philippine nationalism owes more than to all the others who helped in obtaining Philippine liberty.

As powerful personalities ever will, the Filipino leaders had their differences and misunderstandings. Del Pilar and Rizal, members of a brilliant group of youthful Filipinos, worked together in Europe for the common Philippine good

only later to go their separate ways. Contemporaries of the two consider Del Pilar the more intelligent leader, the soul of the separatist movement, and the real founder of Philippine nationalism. Yet though Rizal was moderate in his political views and never advocated armed revolt, his death more than any other one event moved the people to engage in a general insurrection against Spain. Rizal by his courageous exposure of Spain's maladministration of the Philippines and by his dramatic martyrdom was to typify in his name all that was noble in Philippine aspirations. When yearly on December 30th the Filipinos at home and in foreign lands gather to honor the memory of Rizal, it is a stupendous outpouring of patriotic fervor.

In all governmental upheavals, agitation passes from stage to stage; from peaceful petition for reform to armed demands for the changes desired. So just as Del Pilar and Rizal made their exits from the Philippine scene, their successors appeared. As Del Pilar and Rizal laid down their pens, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo took up the arms of revolt. Bonifacio organized the *Katipunan*, an insurrectionary society, while Aguinaldo led the forces in the field in his home province of Cavite. Inevitably the two strong wills had to clash. When they did Bonifacio was eliminated and Aguinaldo held undisputed sway. Aguinaldo became as magnetic a rallying point for his fellow countrymen as Rizal had been. Aguinaldo's is a name known and respected in the Philippine Islands and the United States.

From 1898, when the Americans came to the Philippines, to 1935, when they prepare to leave, the Filipinos have recognized three leaders, all living. Aguinaldo, meaning General Emilio Aguinaldo, was a name to conjure with until the Filipino insurrection was suppressed. Then until the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 there was no generally accepted Filipino leader, but Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, the founder of the unpopular Federal Party favoring

permanent annexation to the United States, was the most outstanding. With the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, Sergio Osmeña, a young delegate from Cebu, was elected Speaker. Until the split in 1922 in the *Nacionalista* Party, of which he was the President, Osmeña was the undisputed boss of the Filipino element in the government. After that date Manuel L. Quezon, the President of the Philippine Senate, came into power, and despite the handicap of ill health retains his supremacy.

Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon entered the political arena at the same time, the first in Cebu and the second in Tayabas. With practically identical backgrounds they came to the First Philippine Assembly, and Osmeña was chosen Speaker and Quezon Floor Leader. Osmeña remained in the Philippines to lead the Filipino forces in the government, while Quezon departed for the United States as Resident Commissioner. Together they formed an invincible team. Then the experience of Del Pilar and Rizal and of Bonifacio and Aguinaldo repeated itself. Whether because of real differences of opinion or because of personal desire for power, I will not attempt to say, but for whatever cause, Osmeña and Quezon became heads of rival political parties only to be reconciled with Quezon No. 1 and Osmeña No. 2, then again to part and contest for supremacy before the electorate, and finally to reunite in a coalition.

Impartially considered, there is glory enough for both Osmeña and Quezon. In the Philippines Osmeña tactfully cooperated with the sovereign power, adroitly won an advance for Filipino self-government here and another advance there, and loyally supported Quezon in his American drive for independence. When the positions were reversed and Quezon was in the Philippines and Osmeña was in Washington, Osmeña, ably abetted by Speaker Roxas and the other members of the Philippine Mission, secured the passage by the Congress of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act even against the stern

opposition of the President. As to Quezon, he adroitly and successfully presented the independence question to the American people. He remained in the United States to secure the enactment by the Congress of the Jones Law, of which he was one of the authors; and this meant a marked advance in Filipino autonomy and a Congressional promise of eventual Philippine independence. Back in the Philippines, Quezon took up the cudgels against General Wood when he thought the latter was trampling upon the sacred rights of the Filipinos. Then, dissatisfied with the Hare-Hawes-Cutting grant obtained by his rival Osmeña, he daringly headed a new mission to Washington, and as he did eighteen years earlier when he returned to the Philippines with the Jones Law, he now returned with the Tydings-McDuffie Commonwealth and Independence Law in his hand.

Other names to be reckoned with at present are Manuel A. Roxas, former Speaker of the House, younger than Aguinaldo, Osmeña, or Quezon, and the idol of Philippine youth; Quintin Paredes, last Speaker of the lower House in the Philippine Legislature, and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, the head of the Filipino Independent Church with considerable influence in the northern part of Luzon. Filipino capitalists are listened to with respect, but only indirectly affect the political policies of the country. In this class are Teodoro R. Yangco, the great Filipino philanthropist; Vicente Madrigal, reputed the wealthiest Filipino; Jose L. de Leon, the sugar magnate; Leopoldo R. Aguinaldo, progressive department-store owner, and the Fernandez brothers, Ramon and Jose, well-known shipping men. In the journalistic field where public opinion is formed, Alejandro Roces, Sr., and Carlos P. Romulo are potently effective. Filipino women are becoming more and more influential.

The leaders of yesterday of Far Eastern nationalism were Emperor Mutsuhito in Japan, Dr. Sun Yat Sen in China, and Dr. Jose Rizal in the Philippines. The nationalist leaders of

today in Asia are Emperor Hirohito in Japan, General Chiang Kai-Shek in China, Mahatma Gandhi in India, Kemal Pasha in Turkey, and Josef Stalin in Soviet Russia. Worthy to rank with the others in undisputed prestige, brilliancy of intellect, and dominance of personality is the Philippine Commonwealth's exponent of nationalism, President Manuel L. Quezon.

DR. JOSE RIZAL, FILIPINO PATRIOT AND MARTYR ⁷

No account of the Philippines, whether of Philippine nationalism or Philippine culture, would be complete without special mention of the life of Dr. Jose Rizal, generally considered the greatest Malayan who has ever lived. A product of his times and of his exceptional opportunities, Rizal has been canonized by the Filipinos as the national hero of the Philippines. As will presently appear, Rizal was in many respects worthy of the adulation of his people.

Jose Rizal-Mercado y Alonzo, known throughout his life as Jose Rizal, was of Malay extraction with strains of Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese blood. He was born in Calamba, Laguna, on June 19, 1861, the son of common people who were tenants on the Friar Lands Estate near Manila. His education was obtained in the Ateneo de Manila of the Jesuits and the University of Santo Tomas of the Dominicans, with post-graduate work in Europe. In his youth he was much influenced by two works by foreign authors, Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, and Morga, *Sucesos de las Filipinas* ("Events in the Philippines"). His admiration for the latter caused him to spend some time editing the work with notes intended to show that the Filipinos had been possessed of considerable culture before the Spanish conquest. While in Europe he prepared and published his novels, "*Noli Me*

⁷ Section read by Dr. Austin Craig, outstanding Rizalist and Philippine and Oriental historian. See Austin Craig, *Rizal's Life and Minor Writings* (1927); *Rizal's Political Writings* (1933).

Tangere" and "*El Filibusterismo*" ("The Reign of Greed"), and other works. In the Philippines once more, he inspired the formation of the Philippine League, which had the peaceful purpose of obtaining governmental reforms and economic improvement.

The foregoing brief and dry biographical data fail to bring forth the dramatic incidents in Rizal's life. To comprehend Rizal's place in history, one has to form a picture of the Philippines in the nineties under absolute Spanish domination. In such a setting it was treasonable for any Filipino publicly to criticize officialdom for allowing an oppressive administration to continue, and far more was it treasonable to even hint at a desire to see his country free. A Spanish Governor-General was accordingly only too ready to consider suspicions as proven facts.

Rizal was arrested and banished to Dapitan, although later he was permitted to sail for Spain. A pretext for again arresting him was found, and he was returned to Manila to stand trial before a military court. The charge laid against him was the formation of an illegal society, the Philippine League, and being responsible for the existing rebellion by his writings. No trained lawyer was there to defend him, and he was already convicted before trial. The tribunal imposed the death sentence.

The date is now December 30, 1896. In the early morning, as the dawn was breaking out of the horizon, Rizal made the journey on foot from Fort Santiago to the place of execution, the Bagumbayan field, now called the Luneta. His arms were tied tightly behind his back and he was surrounded by a guard. A gay crowd of Spanish Army officers and civilians and their women-folk awaited him. Rizal asked to be allowed to face the firing squad, but the request was refused. With a normal pulse which drew forth an involuntary expression of admiration from the attending military surgeon, he stood there alone, not blindfolded, and was able to work one hand

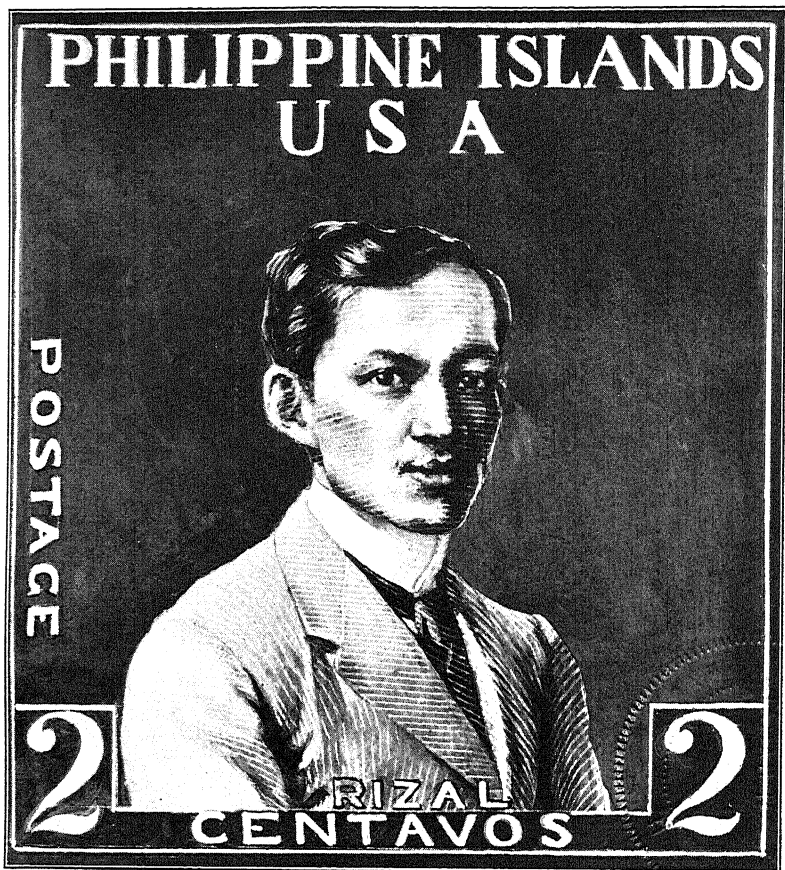
sufficiently free from his bonds to indicate the place at which the soldiers should fire. The captain of the guard gave the signal. The soldiers fired together. With a last tremendous effort of will Rizal turned so as to fall with his face upward. The body was removed in a hospital dead-wagon to Paco Cemetery.

In 1912, with solemn ceremonies, the remains were honorably and reverently placed in the mausoleum specially erected for the purpose on the Luneta, close to the spot where Rizal had given his life for his country. On the monument there is engraved this inscription: "To the memory of Jose Rizal, patriot and martyr, executed on Bagumbayan field December 30, 1896, this monument is dedicated by the people of the Philippines."

Rizal was a conspicuous figure in many fields. His versatility was almost incredible. He was at home in a score of languages, and used at least five of them effectively: English for travel, French for *belles lettres*, German for science, Spanish for politics, and Tagalog for the vernacular. He was a doctor of medicine, an ethnologist, a naturalist, an artist, a sculptor, a novelist, and a poet. Rizal's two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, were written to expose the sufferings of the Filipino people to the end that generous souls might counsel and apply the proper remedies. They were intended to be exact mirrors of Philippine life.

Some nights before the day of execution, Rizal in his cell by the light of a little alcohol lamp had written his farewell to his family and his country. That poem was the beautiful and tender elegy, entitled "*Mi Ultimo Adios*" ("My Last Farewell"). It has become the national classic of the Philippines.

The memory of Rizal is kept alive in the Philippines in many ways. Near the spot where he was killed stands his mausoleum, a memorial to his name and fame. Throughout the Philippines there is scarcely a town without a statue or



DR. JOSE RIZAL, FILIPINO AUTHOR, PATRIOT, AND MARTYR

A reproduction of a portrait in oil by the Filipino artist Juan Luna, as retouched for use on the two-centavo stamp by Dean Fabian de la Rosa.

bust of Rizal. The anniversary of his death is a public holiday. A province bordering on Manila was created to bear his name. Rizal's portrait appears on the two-centavo postage-stamp and on the two-peso bill. His home in exile in Dapitan has been made a national park. Rizal Hall in the University of the Philippines, the Rizal Memorial Stadium, a memorial school in his native town of Calamba—the list could be continued almost indefinitely. The Filipino people feel properly that by honoring the name of Rizal they honor themselves.

GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO ⁸

Aguinaldo! A name written large on the pages of American-Philippine history! The Filipino known by tradition to the Americans and popular with them! The Filipino who in revolutionary days was thought by his countrymen to bear a charmed life and who was their acknowledged leader! The Filipino who in retirement retains the affection and respect of all! Aguinaldo!

During the revolutionary period from 1897 to 1901, the supreme head of the Filipino forces was General Emilio Aguinaldo. He was successively the Commanding General, the Dictator, the President of the Revolutionary Government, and the President of the Philippine Republic. Followed the days of peace, and during the years which ensued, General Aguinaldo was content with the life of a peaceful farmer. Not often has he been drawn into public controversy, and then only to vindicate a principle. Aside from his private business, his activities have been centered on the Filipino Veterans' Association, of which he has been the President. In 1920 the Philippine Legislature granted him a life pension of 12,000 pesos (\$6,000) a year.

⁸ Section read by Hon. Felipe Agoncillo, Vice President of the Veterans of the Revolution, former diplomatic representative abroad of the Revolutionary Government, and more recently Secretary of the Interior. See Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (1925).

Emilio Aguinaldo was born on March 22, 1869, in the town of Kawit, Cavite. His parents were honest and well-to-do citizens of that town. From his mother he derived a strain of Chinese blood. At an early age his education was interrupted by the death of his father. Returning to Kawit, the boy took up farming. Hardly was he of age before he became the *Capitán Municipal* of his home town. About the same time, young Aguinaldo joined the *Katipunan*, and though relatively an obscure member rose rapidly to prominence because of his successes in the field. At an assembly of high officials and other citizens who took part in the Revolution in 1896, at which Aguinaldo was not present, he was elected President, thereby defeating Andres Bonifacio. At this time, it should be recalled, Aguinaldo was barely twenty-eight years of age.

General Aguinaldo caused the Spaniards so much trouble that they were glad to make peace with him, which they did by signing the Pact of Biak-na-bato. Thereafter Admiral Dewey brought Aguinaldo from Hongkong to Manila and sanctioned his coöperation with the American forces. After the split between the Americans and the Filipinos, resulting in sanguinary battles in which the Filipinos were defeated, and after Funston had captured Aguinaldo, the latter issued a proclamation inviting his countrymen to lay down their arms. He took the oath of allegiance to the American flag to which he has ever since been loyal. His dignity of manner, and his attractive personality under trying circumstances made a most favorable impression on all who came in contact with him.

It seems to be the fate of all great men to become involved in tragedy, whether of their own volition or not. General Aguinaldo was no exception to the rule. On at least two occasions, he had to take effective and prompt measures to maintain his position. Inevitable rumor and suspicion have induced inferences detrimental to Aguinaldo's good name, entirely

unjustified by the facts. The evidence concerning these occurrences is yet to be offered and the truth disclosed. I refer to the deaths of Andres Bonifacio and General Antonio Luna. In the case of Bonifacio, it should be remembered that this leader had been defeated for the presidency of the revolutionary government; that he was unwilling to submit to that action, and that the unified position of the Filipinos had to be maintained. If, therefore, it is true that Bonifacio founded a new government opposed to the government of Aguinaldo, the death of Bonifacio imposed by the military court was justified. Otherwise it was not and Aguinaldo erred. In the case of the mysterious death of General Luna, admittedly the leading strategist of the Filipino forces in the war against the Americans, it occurred at the hands of Aguinaldo's own bodyguard, but not, as the evidence shows, by his command. The veil of charity will have to be drawn over these tragedies, the outcome of war and of a desire to maintain a unified front against the enemy.

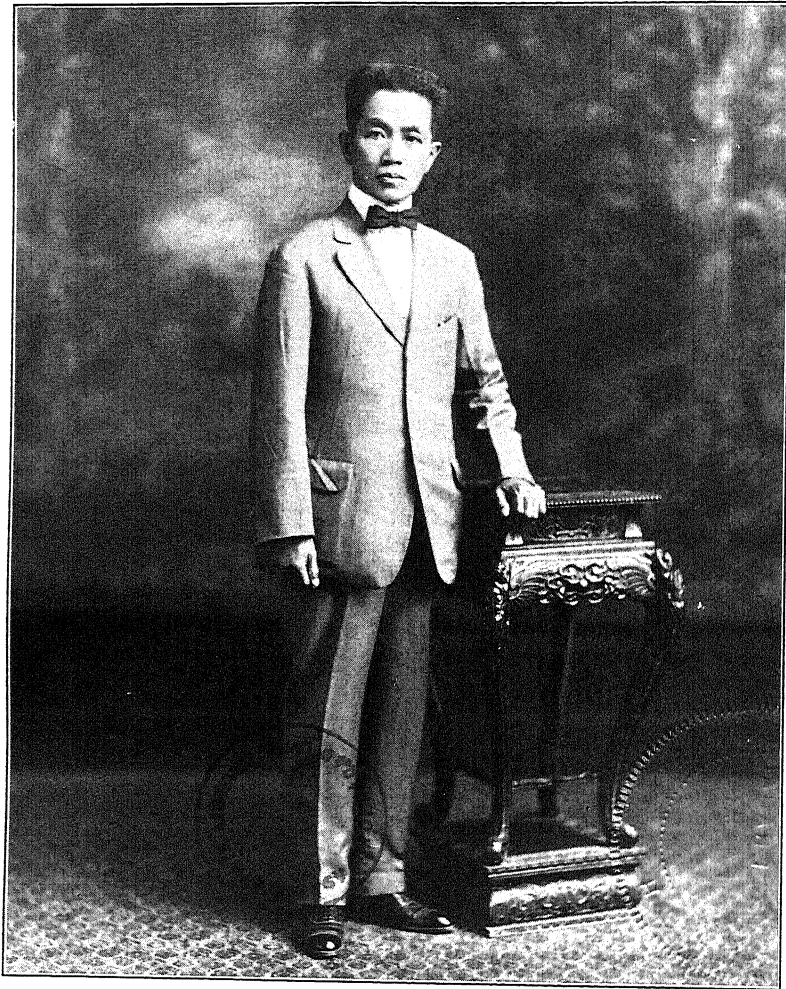
In the days of peace, General Aguinaldo has effectively cooperated with the various American Governors-General of the Islands and with the Filipino leaders. Only when the independence question was in the forefront did he feel called upon to express himself, which he did without vacillation. The sole exception occurred when he broke with President Quezon during the Wood régime. The fulminations of the two leading Filipinos in which each delved into the personal records of the other were no credit to them, dismayed their admirers, and did not enhance their prestige. Now that unfortunate episode is forgotten and Aguinaldo and Quezon are ostensibly friends.

During all the years of American control, Aguinaldo consistently refused to accept public office until the time came to elect the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Then for the first time he entered the political arena to contest the presidency with Senate President Quezon. Aguinaldo

stood for immediate independence as of yore and for a new deal for the common man. It was an unequal battle. On the one side, Aguinaldo with no organization. On the other side, Quezon backed by the coalition of the parties. Aguinaldo went down to defeat.

Analyses of the character of Aguinaldo are as contradictory as they are numerous. There are those who would deify him into something more than human. The soldier who captured him wrote that "He is a man of many excellent qualities, far and away the best Filipino I ever was brought in contact with." On the other hand, there are those who would make of Aguinaldo a mere figurehead, the usual method being to eulogize his compatriots in order to belittle his accomplishments. Certainly full credit should be given to the able men who advised Aguinaldo. Yet when impartial history is written, it must adjudge that Aguinaldo knew how to listen to his advisers, but always the decision was his, and he was the unquestioned executor of the decision thus reached; that he represented cohesion and unity, and that he was a military leader, popular with the masses, who gave unselfish service to his country. Aguinaldo also proved that he was genuinely honest and sincere, for he carefully conserved the money paid him by the Spaniards and used it as a trust fund to organize a new revolution. It was no small thing for a young man, with scant education, living in a small town, in the face of every disadvantage, to weld together a people who had never been unified, and to maintain himself as the acknowledged leader of a popular uprising which when unsuccessful is stigmatized as an insurrection, but which when successful bears the honored title of a revolution.

Aguinaldo's gameness and sportsmanship have won the admiration of Americans. He fought bravely against great odds. Following capture, his bearing was manly and when he swore allegiance to the American flag he kept his oath faith-



GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO

As a candidate for the Presidency of the Commonwealth in 1935.

fully. It is a pleasing sight to see General Aguinaldo foregather with the American veterans of the Spanish-American War. They meet at the banquet-board not as enemies but as friends who mutually admire each other.

General Aguinaldo in size is a typical Filipino. In other words, he is short. His hair is invariably combed pompadour, enhancing his height somewhat. The pompadour furnishes the cartoonist with Aguinaldo's particular physical characteristic. His slight body is lithe and well poised. He dresses simply either in white or in the uniform of the Filipino veterans. He lives modestly and quietly with his family. Nearing his three score and ten, General Aguinaldo still retains the vigor of a much younger man.

General Aguinaldo's home has remained in Kawit, Cavite. That is a small town midway between the City of Manila and the town of Cavite on Manila Bay. Historic memories cluster about the Aguinaldo home. In that building more than any other was Philippine independence formed. Even the walls furnish mute evidence of the struggles against the Spaniards and Americans. General Aguinaldo's home has not alone been a Mecca for Filipinos, but to it have been attracted many Americans and foreigners. His wife, Mrs. Maria Agoncillo Aguinaldo, and his daughter, Mrs. Carmen Aguinaldo Melencio, have proved charming hostesses to a long list of notable callers. Every Governor-General and every Commanding General of the United States Army has been a guest of General Aguinaldo and has considered it a rare privilege to be thus honored.

Time and again it has been my own privilege to be one of the family in the Aguinaldo home in Kawit. In truth, by Filipino custom, for General Aguinaldo's granddaughter Ameurfina is my godchild, I belong to the family. On these occasions, knowing that his confidence will not be abused (as it has been by indiscreet and unreliable journalists) the gen-

eral talks freely on all subjects and is most human. He is an excellent rifleman and enjoys bowling and other sports, in the spirit of which he enters with the enthusiasm of a boy. Like other Americans I am honored to call General Emilio Aguinaldo, friend.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH AND INDEPENDENCE LAW ¹

PASSAGE BY CONGRESS OF THE HARE-HAWES-CUTTING ACT

THE Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law is the Act of Congress of March 24, 1934, popularly known at the Tydings-McDuffie Law from the names of the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees which reported the bill. In turn the Tydings-McDuffie Law is the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act of Congress of January 17, 1933, reënacted with amendments, and rechristened. So first let us learn of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, thus styled because of its principal authors, Congressman Butler B. Hare and Senators Harry B. Hawes and Bronson Cutting.

When the United States Tariff Bill was before Congress in 1929, the King amendment granting the Philippines independence was rejected by the Senate by such a narrow margin that the Filipino leaders and the diverse separatist influences were encouraged to press for more decisive action on another occasion. The Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs and the House Committee on Insular Affairs proceeded to conduct exhaustive hearings for months. Before these committees appeared the members of the Philip-

¹ This chapter was read by Representative Manuel A. Roxas, member of the Philippine Mission which helped secure the passage by the Congress of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, and by Senator Elpidio Quirino, member of the Philippine Mission which helped secure the passage by the Congress of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. See Harry B. Hawes, *Philippine Uncertainty* (1932), Camilo Osias and Mauro Baradi, *The Philippine Charter of Liberty* (1933), and the addresses of Senator Millard E. Tydings and President Manuel L. Quezon before the Constitutional Convention at Manila on December 22, 1934.

pine Mission composed of Messrs. Osmeña, Roxas, Montinola, Sabido, and Tirona, and Resident Commissioners Guevara and Osias, to urge an early grant of independence. Also there came to testify witnesses from the various American elements which considered themselves adversely affected by the competition afforded by the Islands' industries and Filipino labor. Hardly a discordant note was heard in the chorus which chanted the refrain for Philippine independence. Yet the process of drafting a bill which would appease the conflicting claimants of economic advantage was not easy. Eventually the Committees submitted nearly identical reports with recommendations for discharging American obligations to the Philippines.

Still the fight was far from won. Congress was liberal-minded, but Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, recently Governor-General of the Philippines, and Secretary of War Patrick Hurley, with jurisdiction over the Philippines, were outspoken in opposition to the bill; naturally their disapproval was thought to reflect that of President Hoover. At that time Senator Harry B. Hawes was an influential member of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. He was sincerely and enthusiastically in favor of giving the Filipinos their independence and after visiting the Philippines was more than ever convinced that his stand was right. On his return to the United States from his Oriental odyssey, the Senator argued his case with even greater vigor. The genesis of the bill then introduced and finally agreed upon went back to its predecessor, the first Hawes-Cutting Bill of 1929, which in turn could be traced as the lineal descendant of the Fairfield Bill of 1924.

After three years of effort the lower House approved the bill, under suspension of its rules, following forty minutes of inconsequential debate, while in the upper House all opposition including filibustering was crushed. The question then

was, what would the President do? Until that time he had avoided direct allusion to Philippine matters in their larger aspects. The President did not leave anyone in doubt when he spoke. President Hoover returned the bill to Congress with a vigorous message in which he set forth his most serious objections. Then to the surprise of everyone, including the most ardent supporters of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, Congress proceeded speedily and overwhelmingly to override the Presidential veto.

The salient provisions of the Act will be discussed in a succeeding paragraph. Here it is only pertinent to take note of the concluding section, which provided that the provisions of the Act were not to take effect until accepted by concurrent resolution of the Philippine Legislature or by a convention called for the purpose of passing upon that question, as may be provided by the Philippine Legislature. The scene was accordingly shifted from Washington to Manila. Responsibility for acceptance or non-acceptance of the proffer of independence as outlined in the Congressional Act had to be assumed by representatives of the Filipino people.

Before the final draft of the bill was submitted to the Congress, the Philippine Commission of Independence met in Manila several times to discuss the objectionable features of the proposed legislation. Thereafter the Commission expressed its opposition to the bill and announced that if it was to be approved by the Congress without the changes that the Commission desired to be made, it would not be acceptable. In the meantime Senator Benigno Aquino was sent to Washington to voice the sentiment of the Commission of Independence and the Philippine Legislature regarding the bill.

Rumblings of opposition throughout the Philippines were already being heard. Generalissimo Quezon, who later with his own mission had gone to Washington to survey the situa-

tion, was storing up ammunition to annihilate Osmeña and Roxas, when they proudly presented their independence act for inspection and approval by the Philippine populace.

THE PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE DECLINES TO ACCEPT THE ACT

As the Philippine Legislature prepared to meet in regular session on July 17, 1933, the country was agog with excitement on the burning question, should the legislative body accept or reject the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act?

The advocates of the law were headed by the returned missionaries, Osmeña, Roxas, Montinola, Sabido, and Tirona, and Aquino, the special envoy. They were reinforced by such notable figures as President Rafael Palma of the University of the Philippines, Representative Francisco Varona, who alone of the members of the so-called Mixed Mission headed by President Quezon had stood steadfastly in support of the law, and former Representative Gregorio Perfecto of the *Democrata* Party. The opposition to the law was no less formidable. President of the Senate Quezon was the undisputed chieftain of this group and with him stood General Emilio Aguinaldo, President of the Veterans of the Philippine Revolution, former Senator Juan Sumulong of the *Democrata* Party, former Representative Alfonso Mendoza, head of the Radical Party, Representative Quintin Paredes, soon to be elevated to the Speakership of the House, and Senators Elpidio Quirino and Claro M. Recto, important figures in the Senate. In ability and standing, the two groups were approximately equal. They divided the forces of the *Nacionalista* and *Democrata* parties and soon party lines were forgotten. Those in favor of the law were colloquially referred to as *Pros* and those against the law as *Antis*.

On the afternoon of the day before the opening of the sessions of the Philippine Legislature, the advocates of the

Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act met in a popular convention in which they unanimously endorsed a resolution of acceptance. Not to be outdone, on the afternoon of the following day, the opponents of the law met in another giant assemblage and unanimously approved a resolution expressing the hope that the Philippine Legislature would at once reject the law. Thereafter excursions into the country were made by one or the other faction. From newspaper reports, liberally exaggerated, it would appear that the meetings were attended by thousands of citizens.

The Legislature met. Almost at once the majority, controlled by the Quezon group, went into action. Representative Roxas was deposed as Speaker of the House; Senator Osmeña resigned from his post of President *Pro Tempore* of the Senate; Representative Sabido lost his floor leadership; Senator Aquino had even before that been similarly treated; Senator Montinola was threatened with expulsion for injudicious remarks, and Resident Commissioner Osias only missed by a narrow margin having a vote of lack of confidence registered against him.

From time to time strategic moves were made by one side or the other. Curiously enough the alternative of the calling of a convention which would have permitted the people to express themselves was never seriously entertained. A project looking to the holding of a plebiscite to find out the actual desire of the Filipino people, before the Philippine Legislature took action on acceptance or rejection of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, was played with by both the *Pros* and the *Antis*. Neither desired to come out in opposition to such a plan. Eventually after a plebiscite was authorized (Concurrent Resolution No. 44), it was disauthorized by mutual agreement (Concurrent Resolution No. 45). An effort to postpone the day of reckoning was thwarted, when the Attorney-General of the United States rendered an opinion, holding that the time-limit within which the Philippine Legislature

must take action was mandatory. Accordingly in the closing days of the session, the members of the Legislature had to toe the mark and vote either for or against the law.

The reasons adduced in debate by the advocates of the law to fortify their position, except as a matter of history, do not interest us now. In brief, the missionaries argued that no better law could be had; that a grievous mistake would be made in not accepting it, and that independence meant sacrifices which the people should be ready to make. The reasons advanced in debate in criticism of the law were summarized in the concurrent resolution which formally declined to accept the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, and in the memorial laid before President Roosevelt by the President of the Philippine Senate. Bluntly stated, the Philippine Legislature rejected the law in the belief that it fell short of meeting national aspirations. The objections on which this proposition were planted as announced in the concurrent resolution were: (1) the provisions of the law affecting trade relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands would seriously imperil the economic, social, and political institutions of the latter country, and might defeat its avowed purpose to secure independence for the Philippine Islands at the end of the transition period; (2) the immigration clause is objectionable and offensive to the Filipino people; (3) the powers of the High Commissioner are too indefinite, and (4) the retention of military and naval reservations by the United States are inconsistent with true independence, violate national dignity, and are subject to misunderstanding.

A concurrent resolution accepting the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act failed of passage in the Philippine Senate. Thereupon, on October 17, 1933, the Philippine Legislature went on record as declining to accept the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act in Concurrent Resolution No. 46.

The same resolution above referred to authorized a joint legislative mission and named its members. The omissions

from membership were more intriguing than its composition. Representative Roxas, the leader of the opposition in the House, was excluded, although his companion, Senator Osmeña, the leader of the opposition in the Senate, was included, while Resident Commissioner Osias was excluded, although his fellow Commissioner Guevara was not. The missionaries who actually made the trip were President of the Senate Quezon, Senator and Floor Leader Elpidio Quirino, and former Resident Commissioner Isauro Gabaldon, with Acting Secretary of Finance Vicente Singson Encarnacion as technical adviser. The scene had again shifted from Manila back to Washington.

THE HARE-HAWES-CUTTING ACT REVIVED AND
AMENDED BY THE TYDINGS-MC DUFFIE LAW

The procedure followed in the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Law was radically different from that followed in the approval or attempted approval of previous Philippine organic acts. Publicity, wide and blatant, had theretofore been the rule. Lengthy hearings before committees, involved reports by the committees, and speeches without end had been favored. When quiet negotiations had been attempted, they had usually failed; one instance where such conferences had broken down in their initial stages was when Secretary of War Weeks and the Filipino leaders were unable to reach a working agreement on the Fairfield Bill. All these methods were discarded in securing the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. No hearings were had, the committee reports were brief, and speech-making was curtailed. Secret diplomacy was the technique availed of to obtain quick results.

When the Quezon Mission reached Washington, the official atmosphere was not particularly friendly. The leaders of Congress were not inclined to be overly cordial to the man who was responsible for the rejection of what they considered

a generous proffer of Philippine freedom. The Mission was invited to luncheon at the White House, which was a hospitable gesture, and later, at the request of the President, a formal memorial was presented to Quezon. Still not much progress. Then, just as the Mission was about to leave Washington with empty hands, the situation changed and changed swiftly.

Following a series of preliminary conferences, Senator Tydings, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, stated that he would be glad to negotiate an amendment to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act looking to elimination therefrom of the army base clauses. President Quezon, after salving his conscience, and after making his position clear for the record, agreed to favor the extension of the time for acceptance of the bill, provided the military reservation section was discarded, and the question of naval reservations left for future agreement between the two countries, and provided further that any injustice in the law be considered and righted in the future. The opposition leaders in the Philippines were consulted and readily pledged their support. The stage was set for presidential entrance.

President Roosevelt's message to the Congress was brief but to the point. He recommended that the provision concerning military bases be eliminated from the independence law, and that these bases be relinquished simultaneously with the accomplishment of final Philippine independence. He further recommended that the ultimate settlement regarding naval bases be left for future determination on terms satisfactory to the American and Philippine Governments. As to the other provisions in the original law, he was of the opinion that they need not be changed. Then as the time element was involved, he suggested that the date for acceptance be sufficiently extended to permit the Filipino people to reconsider the law. The bill was quickly passed in the form desired by the President.

Considerable confusion of thought has arisen as to exactly what was accomplished by the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The *Pros* have asserted that it was the same old Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law. The *Antis* have argued that it was a much improved law. I will confine comment to paraphrasing the remarks of those who, on account of their positions, can speak with authority.

The Tydings-McDuffie measure revived, extended, amended, and superseded the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. With that innocuous statement no one could quarrel. The changes from the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act involved the extension of the expiration date to October 1, 1934, relinquishment of the right of the United States to retain military reservations, and the insertion of a provision that the question of naval bases would be the subject of future negotiations between the United States and the Philippine Republic. An alleged loophole in the law which it was charged made independence uncertain was closed, and the title to the Act was changed so as to make it clear that the independence which the Islands would have at the expiration of the transition period would be complete. With the last observation, all would not agree, for there is no material difference between independence of the Philippine Islands and complete independence of the Philippine Islands. Otherwise the new law was substantially a reënactment of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. The Quezon Mission was also able to secure comforting statements from Senator Tydings that those who were in charge of Philippine affairs in Congress are always ready to lend a sympathetic ear to any suggestion calculated to improve the Independence Law, and from the President that "where imperfections or inequalities exist, I am confident that they can be corrected after proper hearing and in fairness to both peoples."

It is now proper to inquire exactly what additional benefits were obtained by the resurrection of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. In the first place, it was indispensable that the much

maligned predecessor of the Tydings-McDuffie Law be brought to life and that the Philippine Legislature be afforded another and last opportunity to accept the law. In the second place, the two missions had the satisfaction of having driven a hard bargain with Uncle Sam. In the third place, military reservations scattered over the Islands totalling about three hundred thousand acres were to cease to exist when the day for independence arrived. The last was really a concession which the administration could offer without injury to anyone, for I happen to know that the joint Army and Navy Board in Washington never intended to retain military reservations in the Philippines after independence had come.

Most important of all, the Congressional Act represented a successful effort at all-around pacification. The law underwrote a many-sided, face-saving compromise. For the United States it sought to quiet agitation against Philippine products and to avoid stirring up quarrelsome issues. For the Philippines it sought to secure endorsement by the opposing camps. The *Pros* could proclaim that they had succeeded in gaining the approval of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act with insignificant changes. The *Antis* could boast that they had succeeded in getting Congress to reconsider the Act, to clarify ambiguities and to remove uncertainties, and in having the President promise that future petitions would be seriously considered. So all were satisfied and face was saved. With good reason could Senator Vandenberg for the Republicans taunt the Democrats and their allies that yesterday's anathema, referring to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, had become the Tydings-McDuffie benediction.

The Tydings-McDuffie Law was complemented by other Congressional measures of about the same period which affected American-Philippine relations. Under the Jones-Costigan Act, the Philippines was allotted a quota of approximately one million short tons of centrifugal sugar and ap-

proximately eighty thousand short tons of refined sugar for shipment to the American market. This allotment was below that recommended by the President but was above that allowed by the Tydings-McDuffie Law. In addition, the Islands were to receive some 50,000,000 pesos (\$25,000,000) from the processing tax on sugar and a large but undetermined amount from the excise tax on coconut oil. The United States tax statute imposed a five cents a pound tax on oils, except Philippine coconut oil, which was to enjoy the privilege of paying only a three cents a pound excise. Then Congress authorized the earmarking of Philippine deposits in the United States Treasury and the payment of interest thereon. The Philippine Government was credited with 47,725,501 pesos and 56 centavos (\$23,862,750.78), representing profits made by the United States on Philippine gold reserve funds held in the United States under the Gold Seizure Act. All in all, the Islands had been treated most generously by the United States, with the possible exception of the excise tax on coconut oil, which in effect violated the economic provisions of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law.

The Tydings-McDuffie Bill was approved by President Roosevelt on March 24, 1934. As he signed the bill the President said, "This is a great day in American-Philippine relations. It means the beginning of the Philippine Republic."

In the Philippines, however, there was no outward show of rejoicing or happiness on the part of the Filipino people on the reenactment of the Independence Law. Mayor Earnshaw of Manila directed the ringing of bells and the blowing of whistles, but most of the people were uncertain as to the exact reason for the noise-making. In a few municipalities parades were held, but undoubtedly were arranged for political purposes. It was observed that now that the Filipinos had their freedom they soberly realized probably for the first time the responsibilities that went with it.

THE PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE ACCEPTS THE
TYDINGS-MC DUFFIE LAW

The Philippine Legislature accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Law with dispatch. Governor-General Murphy called the Legislature into special session to give it an opportunity to pass the necessary resolution of acceptance and to approve a bill providing for a constitutional convention. The day following President Quezon's triumphant return, and appropriately on May 1st, the anniversary of America's arrival in the Philippines, the Philippine Legislature in joint session unanimously approved a resolution accepting the Tydings-McDuffie Law. Speech-making was confined to addresses by Senators Quezon and Osmeña and Representatives Delgado and Roxas. The Governor-General informed Washington of the decision on the law, which brought in response a congratulatory message from the President. The Philippine Legislature had cleared the way for the steps designed to lead to the ultimate establishment of an independent Philippine Republic.

As was contemplated, the general elections in 1934 afforded the Filipino electorate an opportunity to pass on the whole subject of independence and leadership. Those who had engineered rejection of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and who subsequently veered to favor acceptance of the Tydings-McDuffie Law desired to win the support of the people. On the other hand, those who had steadfastly advocated acceptance of the original Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act desired the people to sustain them. When the election returns came, it was demonstrated that Quezon's leadership had been overwhelmingly endorsed. Those in power who wanted to stay there were in. Those out of power who wanted to be in were out.

Now that the storm has subsided, a minor tempest raises the question of who should get credit for the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. Should the *Pros* who re-

turned with the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and who argued that they were responsible for its approval, and that the Tydings-McDuffie Law with one slight amendment was identical? Should the *Antis* who returned with the Tydings-McDuffie Law and who argued that they were responsible for vital amendments of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and had made possible further concessions? Only a Solomon could decide. As no Solomon is available, let us concede that both sides were actuated by pure patriotism.

I may be pardoned if I tell of incidents which go to prove my thesis. I was in Manila when Congressman Hare, one of the authors of the Independence Law, made a trip to the Philippines. On the morning of the day when the Congressman was to leave the Islands, I was called to the residence of President Quezon for an unrevealed purpose. The President of the Senate was in his dressing gown, and anyone could readily see that he was a sick man and much perturbed. He handed me a copy of the proposed bill, with which I was not familiar, and went on with a conference with Rafael Alunan, the Secretary of Finance. That concluded, he called his stenographer and attempted to dictate a letter to Congressman Hare setting forth objections to the bill. As his hoarseness made it difficult for him to proceed, whenever I could grasp his idea I dictated for him to the stenographer and occasionally interpolated ideas of my own. Remember that at that time the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill was not a law and that opposition to it had not crystalized, and you will believe as I did that the President of the Senate was actuated by sincere convictions in expressing himself on the bill. I do not think that as Mr. Quezon dictated that letter he had in mind a Machiavellian scheme whereby he could rout his adversaries and could claim for himself exclusive credit for obtaining independence for his country. That at least was my impression after being with him for close to three hours as he thought out loud in dissecting the independence bill.

In 1933 I was in Washington while the Philippine Mission was there marking time until the arrival of the Quezon Mission. I was permitted to receive in confidence the views of the Mission and of Congressional leaders. I was much impressed by the sincerity of the attitude of the Filipino representatives. They had encountered a hard situation and had been able to surmount great difficulties. Men like Senators Hawes and Pittman generously conceded that the success obtained had been due in great part to the aptitude and restraint shown by the Philippine Mission. I even learned that Senator Osmeña had it in mind when the law should be accepted by his people to retire from public office, content to know that his purpose in life had been fulfilled. I do not think that he and those with him were actuated by selfish ambitions.

The Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law was obtained not through the efforts of one man or two men, but through the efforts of many individuals.

SUMMARY OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH AND INDEPENDENCE LAW ²

I have termed the Act of Congress of March 24, 1934, the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law because that title is indicative of its two main purposes. A transition period of ten years was contemplated, and during this time there was to be a Philippine Commonwealth. Thereafter, there was to be a Philippine Republic. The Act of Congress was in the nature of an enabling act to secure these two purposes.

The law enumerates the steps leading to Philippine independence. These are: (1) acceptance of the law; (2) the calling by the Legislature of a constitutional convention to meet not later than October 1, 1934; (3) submission of the constitution to the President of the United States within two years, that is, not later than March 24, 1936; (4) submission of the

² See Appendix 1 for the law in full.

constitution already approved by the President of the United States to the Filipino people for approval by direct vote within four months after approval of the constitution by the President; (5) the holding of an election for officers of the Commonwealth not earlier than three months or later than six months after acceptance by the people of the constitution; (6) a proclamation of the result of the election and the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government, and (7) final independence to be proclaimed on July 4th following the tenth year after the inauguration of the Commonwealth. Among these steps, it should be emphasized, was a grant to the Filipino people of the right to formulate and adopt their own constitution. If no other concession had been made, this would have been worth the effort which it took to secure the enactment of the law.

Not to go into the Commonwealth and Independence Law in detail, it should be mentioned that the Constitution must contain certain mandatory provisions. Trade relations are governed by sections of the Law which first set up quotas for Philippine products for the American market for five years and then provide for a gradually increasing export tax. The President's authority over the Philippines is specified and includes the performance of important duties. The United States is to be represented in the Philippines by a High Commissioner. The Philippines is to be represented in the United States by a Resident Commissioner. After independence is consummated, the Philippines is to be treated in all respects as a foreign country. An effort is to be made to secure the permanent neutralization of the Philippines.

NATURE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER THE CONGRESSIONAL ACT

Notwithstanding the transfer of great powers from the American people to the Filipino people, the Philippines is a

part of the United States. The American flag still flies over the Islands. "The Star Spangled Banner" still concludes patriotic programs. Sovereignty over the Islands still remains in the United States. The Philippines will thus remain until American sovereignty is withdrawn, the independence of the Philippines proclaimed, and the American flag drawn down. As a result the Philippines is not an independent state, since subject to the ultimate control of the United States. Nevertheless the Filipino people can think of themselves, and properly, as a nation.

The new government which has been organized in the Philippines has been designated "the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands," abbreviated by the Philippine Constitution to "the Commonwealth of the Philippines." The word "commonwealth" is not unknown in public law. It signifies self-government. States of the American Union have been called commonwealths. Bryce entitled his work on the American Government, *The American Commonwealth*. As another example, there is the Commonwealth of Australia, a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. The Commonwealth of the Philippines is in nature a transition government which will exist during a decade of economic readjustment.

A question has arisen as to whether the Commonwealth of the Philippines would be entitled to join the League of Nations. The better opinion is that the Commonwealth would be considered a fully self-governing state or dominion eligible to membership in the League. But as the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth are under the direct supervision and control of the United States, the permission of the latter country would be necessary, before the Commonwealth of the Philippines could apply for admission to the League of Nations.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILIPPINES ¹

THE RISE OF CONSTITUTIONAL THOUGHT IN THE PHILIPPINES ²

Two divergent civilizations, the Latin and the American, and two divergent systems of law, the Roman Civil Law and the Anglo-American Common Law, have met and blended in the Philippines. From these civilizations and laws have come the factors that have influenced the rise of popular government in the Philippines. Naturally the two countries whose institutions have most affected Philippine constitutional development have been Spain and the United States.

For over three centuries, the people of the Philippines were under the dominion of Spain. Of the various constitutions in force in Spain, only those with liberal ideas reached as far as the Philippines. During three periods in which the Spanish Constitution was effective in the Philippines, the latter had nominal representation in the Spanish Cortes. Nevertheless, although the Filipinos did not receive many direct benefits from a constitutional government, they did receive numerous indirect benefits from the Spanish administration. When the Spanish flag was hauled down for the last time in the Philippines and the American emblem was raised in its stead, the Filipino people, Filipinos in name and innate characteristics, were nevertheless thinking in many ways as Span-

¹ This chapter was read by Dean Conrado Benitez, a member of the drafting committee of the Constitutional Convention. See Zaide and Barba, *The Constitution of the Philippines: History, Chronology, and Text* (1935).

² See George A. Malcolm, *The Constitutional Law of the Philippine Islands*, second edition of 1926, Chs. X-XVI.

iards. The mental processes and culture of the Filipinos were those of the Latins.

For a score and a half of years, the American conception of good government has been modified to meet Philippine conditions; American laws have been bodily or partially transplanted to the Philippines; American educational methods have been applied, and American thought has been predominant. Accordingly, there could be no other result than that democratic institutions, as fostered under the Constitution of the United States, should become known in the Philippines, and should there meet, and to a great extent overcome, the more conservative notions of Spanish times.

While the Constitution of the United States as a constitution was not in force in the Philippines, the influence of the document has nevertheless been felt. The federal and state governments have been taken as models for Philippine legislation. Any number of American constitutional ideas will be found embodied in the Constitution of the Philippines, while other ideas of a similar tenor will continue to affect the lives of the people outside of the constitution. It will be natural to expect that even upon a severance of relations with the United States, certain of the American constitutional institutions will remain, while others will disappear or become blended with later innovations.

Notwithstanding the long Spanish domination of the Islands and notwithstanding the shorter although more potent American control, native traditions and customs in their essentials have remained unaffected. Outward form has changed, but inward thought has not changed. The Filipino has neither been transmuted into a Spaniard nor an American. What we might call the Filipino soul has survived the centuries of contact with alien races. The Filipino has taken the gifts of foreigners sometimes because he had to and again because he wanted to, without, however, giving up his own national consciousness. And this is as it should be.

The revolutions against Spain and the United States first permitted of a practical demonstration of Filipino aptitude for self-government. The two most important constitutional documents of this period were the Provisional Constitution of Biak-na-bato, planned by Isabelo Artacho, and the Malolos Constitution of the Philippine Republic, the work principally of Felipe Calderon. Later, formal action thrice taken by the Philippine Assembly demonstrated the easily understood desire of the Filipino people to substitute a constitution of their own making for one imposed by a foreign sovereignty. That aspiration was properly satisfied by the right conceded by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law to hold a constitutional convention and prepare a constitution.

It is difficult to place one's finger on any one date or any one document as evidencing the genesis of the Philippine Constitution. Yet it may be said that until the enactment of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law on March 24, 1934, the three most important organic laws were the Instructions of the President to the Second Philippine Commission of April 7, 1900, the Philippine Bill, or the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, and the Jones Law, or the Act of Congress of August 29, 1916. The Instructions were drafted by Secretary of War Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission and have rightly been acclaimed as a great state paper. The Philippine Bill, although it did not create a new government, was the basic law for fourteen years. The Jones Law was more nearly like an organic act and except that it was susceptible to divergent interpretations, was otherwise acceptable.

Side by side with the organic laws has marched Philippine constitutional development by judicial interpretation. The Supreme Courts of the Philippines and the United States have given the Islands all that was best in American constitutional law. As in the United States, they have assumed the duty of enforcing the organic laws. When the choice was be-

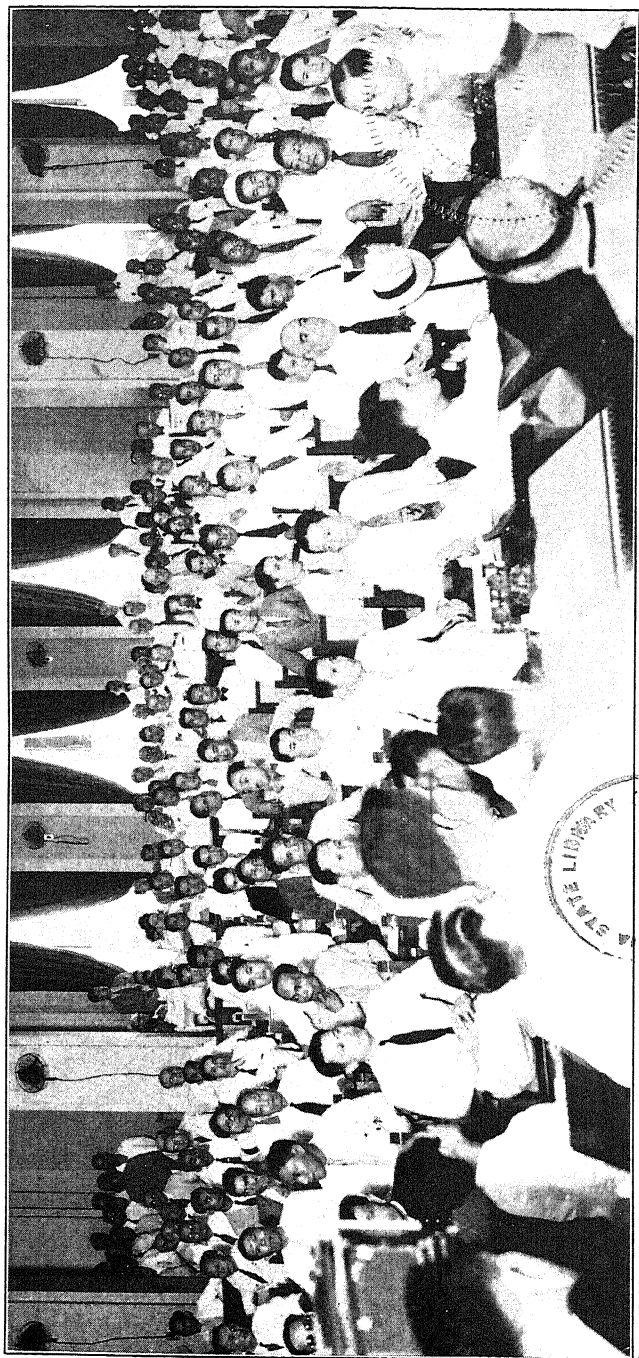
Alejandro, two delegates to the Malolos Congress in 1898, were again delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1934.

The Constitutional Convention assembled on the morning of July 30, 1934, in the hall of the House of Representatives facing a large and interesting task, the establishment of an autonomous government, later to blend into an independent state. Few bodies designated to do this work have met under more favorable auspices.

I took the pains to be present at the opening ceremonies attendant on the inauguration of the Constitutional Convention. My seat was with the other Justices of the Supreme Court in the center of the hall directly in front of the rostrum. The delegates sauntered in early and there was a current comment that in appearance they were superior to the common run of members of the Philippine Legislature. All of the delegates were present with the exception of the two from the communicationless Batan Islands.

The convention was turned into a Batangas day. The temporary chairman, former Senator Jose P. Laurel; the permanent President, Senator Claro M. Recto; the Bishop, Mons. Alfredo Verzosa, who delivered the invocation; and the delegate, Attorney Eusebio Orense, who led the independent opposition from the floor, were all *Batangueños*. Even the busy sergeant-at-arms was from Batangas.

It was evident that the program had been carefully planned beforehand by the alliance between the majority and the minority parties. The leaders of the two factions worked in perfect harmony, and the machine was in excellent running order. The two stormy petrels, Tomas Confessor and Gregorio Perfecto, were overruled by strong-armed gavel wielding and the threat of removal by the sergeant-at-arms. Three chairs were on the rostrum, but one was hurriedly removed when it was apparent that the Governor-General was not to



D.M.H.M. photograph

THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

grace the occasion with his presence. President Manuel L. Quezon opened the ceremonies, but the ripple of applause which he received was not in accord with the usual ovation given him, and among the independents especially there was a hint of objection to his presence in a convention of which he was not a delegate. However, as said, the plans perfected before the meeting were carried out without a hitch after a parliamentary tangle had threatened to prolong the session.

From day to day optimistic announcements were made that the Convention would conclude its task on such and such a date. The date, however, invariably had to be moved forward. In fact six full months were needed for the Convention to draft a constitution.

One reason for the slow progress in constitution making was the unwieldiness of such a large body. This unwieldiness was further enhanced by the number of committees that were named, practically fifty in all, with some committees having as many as forty-five members and with the Sponsorship Committee having eighty-seven members. Eventually the folly of such a course became so apparent that a subcommittee of seven in the Sponsorship Committee was created to draft the Constitution. This Drafting Committee was composed of Delegates Filemon Sotto, Manuel A. Roxas, Manuel Briones, Vicente Singson Encarnacion, Norberto Romualdez, Miguel Cuaderno, and Conrado Benitez. The committee, assisted by the Convention President, got down to work at once and succeeded in speeding up the deliberations of the Convention.

Another reason for delay was that freedom of discussion was allowed in committees and on the floor of the Convention. The delegates, naturally gifted public speakers, took frequent and long advantage of this privilege. Many of them in their dreams undoubtedly saw themselves wearing the mantle of James Madison or of Felipe Calderon, to be acclaimed in history as the author of the Philippine Constitution. The result

was a miscellaneous and novel lot of constitutional projects and fruitless discussion, interspersed with which was a sobering sense of responsibility which defeated most of the iconoclast amendments and which provided intelligent and constructive debate.

President Claro M. Recto presided over the Convention with judicial fairness. His tolerant and tactful hand guided and pushed forward the constitutional document to completion. Practically all the delegates joined their President in helping to mold an acceptable constitution. But the one delegate whose transcendent ability was most generally recognized by his fellows was Delegate Manuel A. Roxas.

This was a remarkable tribute to Roxas' standing, all the more startling because of the circumstances which surrounded it. When the Constitutional Convention opened, the *Antis* were in the majority and the *Pros* in the minority, and Roxas belonged to the minority. By mutual agreement partisanship was banned and the offices were divided, with Roxas contenting himself with modest membership on the Sponsorship Committee and later on the Drafting Committee. In these central committees and later on the floor of the Convention his better preparation, his constant industry, and his quick intellect soon permitted him to dominate the task. So Manuel A. Roxas of the minority, by agreeing to coöperate and by taking a place in the ranks, emerged in the Convention to become its leader and one of the draftsmen of his country's first constitution.

The Constitution was approved on February 8, 1935, lacking one vote of unanimity. The Constitution was formally signed on February 19, 1935, amidst motion-picture scenes, with one delegate affixing his signature with blood freshly drawn from his veins. The Constitutional Convention could then adjourn with the assurance that it had patriotically and conscientiously tried to produce a good constitution.

SUBMISSION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

The completed Constitution of the Philippines was promptly radioed to Washington. While the preliminary study of the Constitution was there beginning, a commission was on its way to present officially the Constitution to the President for approval. This commission was made up of Senate President Quezon, Convention President Recto, and Minority Leader Roxas.

The job assigned the President of the United States was to determine whether or not the Constitution conformed substantially with the provisions of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. In reaching a decision the President had the benefit of reports from the executive departments of the National Government which were interested in the Philippines, and of the invaluable advice of Governor-General Murphy. The President was able to certify the acceptability of the Constitution.

The Constitution was formally placed in the hands of the President on March 18, 1935. On March 23, 1935, the Constitution was approved by the President in a brief but impressive ceremony in the presence of the Philippine Commission, the Secretary of War, the Governor-General, and others. The Secretary of State was also in attendance, which was symbolic of the changed status of the Philippines from the viewpoint of foreign affairs and trade. The President congratulated the members of the Convention "on the satisfactory completion of a task so important and significant in the life of their people." He added that "the authority granted to the Commonwealth Government will permit exercise by the Filipino people of general control, subject only to a few important exceptions, of their local affairs." With the signing of the Constitution of the Philippines, authorized by the Philippine

Commonwealth and Independence Law which he had previously signed, President Franklin D. Roosevelt placed himself among the three American Presidents, William McKinley and Woodrow Wilson being the other two, who had approved vitally important state documents which will go down into Philippine history.

Another important step in the orderly process leading to independence had been taken. The Filipino people stood on the threshold of nationhood.

SUBMISSION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

The Constitution of the Philippines was next submitted for the scrutiny of the Filipino electorate. Their vote had a twofold meaning. It meant acceptance or rejection of the Constitution and acceptance or rejection of independence.

Registered qualified voters were afforded an opportunity to vote directly for or against the Constitution in an election held on May 14, 1935. Curiously enough women, although practically disfranchised by the Constitution, were permitted to cast ballots on the ratification or rejection of this same Constitution. The question asked the electors was, "Do you vote for the ratification of the Constitution of the Philippines, with the Ordinance appended thereto?"

A campaign of publicity for the approval of the Constitution was supervised by government officials and convention delegates. A counter campaign against the Constitution was carried on more secretly and insidiously by the radical group. When the votes were canvassed, it was found that 1,213,046 votes had been cast for the Constitution and 44,963 votes against the Constitution.

An analysis of the plebiscite figures discloses some interesting facts. In the first place, the vote even with the women participating was less than for a regular election. In the sec-



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
SIGNING THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE PHILIPPINES

March 23, 1935. Seated, left to right: George H. Dern, Secretary of War, President Roosevelt, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate; standing, left to right: Frank Murphy, Governor-General of the Philippines, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, Senator Key Pittman, Pedro Guevara, Miguel Cuaderno, Manuel A. Roxas, Francisco Delgado, Claro M. Recto, President of the Constitutional Convention. (Wide World photograph.)

ond place, the outcome represented a smashing victory for ratification of the Constitution and independence, to be exact, .965 per cent for to .035 per cent against. The region which cast the highest number of negative votes was the North, including Batanes, Mountain Province, Cagayan, and Isabela. Indeed, the Sub Province of Benguet, the home of the Igorots, gave a majority against as did three municipalities in Batanes. Also the Moro country, particularly Lanao, was not very enthusiastically for the Constitution and independence. The inferences to be drawn are first, a fear of Japan, in the provinces situated nearest to that expanding empire, second, a predilection for American protection among the Non-Christians, and third, an otherwise general desire to see the autonomous Commonwealth inaugurated and on its way to independence.

The Philippines was now ready to elect the officers provided for in the Constitution, and having done so, to inaugurate the Commonwealth Government.

STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Constitution authorizes a plan that accomplishes three main purposes. Continuity between the existing Government of the Philippine Islands and the new government of the Philippine Commonwealth is maintained. A transition Commonwealth government is made possible. Continuity will be again maintained between the Commonwealth of the Philippines and the future Republic of the Philippines. In other words, it is a Constitution for the immediate present, the near present, and the future.

The Constitution adopted the time-honored doctrine of separation of powers modified to cope with Philippine actualities. Legislative power is vested in a National Assembly, executive power in a President of the Philippines, and judicial power in a Supreme Court and inferior courts. The National

Assembly is a unicameral body with general powers subject to specific prohibitions. The President of the Philippines is made a strong executive but with dictatorship avoided. The Supreme Court is expected to be independent of outside control.

Except that there will be a Filipino President instead of an American Governor-General, a one-chamber National Assembly instead of a two-chamber Legislature, and a completely Filipinized Supreme Court instead of a partly American-controlled body, the general set-up will be pretty much the same under the Commonwealth and the Republic as before their establishment. The observer will experience little difficulty in recognizing the parts of the government machine.

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Constitution contains a Bill of Rights as required by the Congressional Enabling Act, and a Declaration of Principles not required. The latter, five in all, embodies ideas that should commend themselves to everyone. For example, "The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy."

With three possible exceptions, the Filipino people have enjoyed the benefits of the Anglo-American Bill of Rights. That these three omissions, for instance trial by jury, were not deemed vital, was disclosed by the failure to include them in the Constitution of the Philippines. But all the traditional rights were reproduced therein, which was wise. In addition, new ones have been added further to strengthen individual security. Thus liberty of abode is guaranteed; privacy of communications and correspondence is made inviolable except upon lawful order of a court; the right to form associations and societies for purposes not contrary to law may not be abridged, and delinquent payers of poll taxes cannot be imprisoned.

A COMMENTARY ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
PHILIPPINES

Let the constitutional lawyers and political scientists argue the fine points of the Constitution of the Philippines. For us let a glance at the expected and unexpected provisions and a personal word suffice.

The Constitutional Convention did what was expected of it when it molded a model of a constitution that fitted the frame prescribed for it by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. The required Bill of Rights was included and an ordinance of mandatory provisions was appended. American thought influenced the Constitution more than any other nationality did.

The Constitution was made republican in form with each of the three powers independent of each other. Nevertheless, while the three powers are theoretically supposed to be equal, in truth the order of their importance is executive department, legislative department, and judicial department. The presidential type of government was preferred to the parliamentary type.

Where free to do so, the Constitution reflected Filipino sentiment. A restrained nationalism pervades the document. The preamble begins "The Filipino people," not "The people of the Philippines," as originally intended. The first section of the first article describes "The Philippines," not "The Philippine Islands," as mentioned in the Congressional Act. Only a natural-born citizen of the Philippines is qualified to become President or Vice President, and only a person who has been for five years a citizen of the Philippines is qualified to become a member of the National Assembly or of the Supreme Court.

The nationalistic spirit is reflected more intensely by the provision that all natural resources, including minerals, belong to the State. Private agricultural land cannot be assigned to unqualified persons—that is, to aliens—that is, to the

Japanese. Where the Constitution wavered and compromised was on woman suffrage and a national language.

The Constitution plowed new ground when sanctioning a one-house National Assembly, and an electoral commission representative of the two leading parties with members from the Supreme Court holding the balance of power. The Constitution improved on the American system when it provided for direct election of the President and Vice President and fixed their term of office at six years, with reëlection prohibited to the President.

I kept in close touch with the preparation of the Constitution. Thrice I attended the sessions of the Convention and thrice was I called into special conferences. Frequently delegates dropped into my office to talk over their perplexities. The most of one night I spent in the study of the completed draft just before its final approval. So I feel I know something about the Constitution. My measured opinion is that but few objectionable features will be discovered in the Constitution, and that but few omissions will be noted. My further opinion is that some provisions will be found to be ambiguous and to require judicial interpretation. My opinion finally is that balancing the defects against the merits, the latter far outweigh the former.

The Constitution represents a concerted effort to produce a workmanlike document. The Constitution can be placed side by side with other constitutions and need not suffer by comparison. The Constitution of the Philippines is a fundamental law which observed the requirements of the Enabling Act; which wisely avoided degenerating into a code; which just as wisely refused to be led into the expression of dangerous doctrines; which is suited to conditions in the Philippines, and which as a consequence can be termed a good constitution.

CHAPTER IX

EXECUTIVE POWER ¹

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

THE Philippine Commonwealth and the Philippine Republic will have a strong executive. And this is wise for more than one reason.

The Filipino people have become accustomed to centralized leadership. The local chieftains in ancient times, the Spanish Viceroys in past centuries, the Commanding Generals during the Philippine Revolutions, and the American Governors-General in recent days, each represented the focus of power, the one man to be obeyed and to look to for redress of grievances. By reason of such experience, the psychology of the masses reacts more favorably to a government dominated by one person than to more democratic direction. But this does not mean that the people are content to follow any leader blindly. It is only when the national leader enjoys the confidence of the people that he obtains their hearty support.

Not only this. A firm hand is needed to suppress possible regional, mass, or national discontent. A firm hand is also needed to guide a new Commonwealth and Republic, Latin and American trained but located in the Orient in close contact with Chinafied and Japanized countries.

Every consideration calls for a strong Chief Executive, but not for a dictatorship.

Executive power is entrusted to one official, the President. He is elected by popular vote to serve for a term of six years.

¹ The first four sections of this chapter were read by Senator Teofilo Sison, Secretary of the Interior.

A tendency to center on building up a political machine to secure reelection rather than on serving the best interests of the people and a possibility of perpetuating a dictatorship, are avoided by prohibiting reelection. Also, along with other high officials, the President can be impeached.

The President is allowed an official residence, Malacañan Palace, and an annual salary of 30,000 pesos (\$15,000). This is less than the compensation formerly received by the Governor-General and the compensation that the United States High Commissioner will receive.

Vast powers are granted the President of the Commonwealth. An integrated executive organization is controlled by him. Also, he exercises general supervision of local governments. The President appoints, with the consent of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly, the heads of the executive departments and bureaus, the Auditor-General, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, the members of the Supreme Court and judges of inferior courts, and ranking officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. He maintains close relations with the National Assembly through messages, through the submission of a budget, and through the exercise of the veto power, which extends not only to bills in their entirety but to any particular item or items of an appropriation bill or a revenue or tariff bill. Authority granted by the Constitution makes the President the commander-in-chief of all armed forces of the Philippines, and gives him the right to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law. The President can grant reprieves, commutations of sentences, and pardons, and with the consent of the National Assembly, amnesty. He controls foreign affairs and makes treaties within the limits set by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. When duly authorized by the National Assembly, the President can fix tariff rates, import or

export quotas, and tonnage and wharfage dues, and in times of war or national emergency can govern the Philippines through rules and regulations.

The enumeration of the important powers and duties imposed on the President will not sound strange to those familiar with the powers and duties formerly imposed on the Governor-General. The responsibility of the President will assuredly not be less and will probably be greater than the responsibility thrown on the Governor-General.

A vigorous administration of public affairs can be expected to make full use of the almost unlimited powers vested in the President. In many ways the actual use of these powers will follow precedents established by American and Filipino officials in the Government of the Philippine Islands. In other respects, a different viewpoint will call for more intense response to Filipino nationalism. The enlargement of the Philippine Constabulary to evolve into a Philippine Army, the close scrutiny of educational policy to make it reflect more closely the desires of the country, the development of local industries, and the protection of the natural resources are but a few of the subjects which will gain attention. In the hands of a capable executive of Rooseveltian mold, these and other equally important subjects may be expected to receive study and solution. A strong executive on paper will evolve into a strong executive in practice.

In other words, in the President is centralized, with only indispensable safeguards, national authority. He determines general policies. He dominates the administration. He enters into negotiations with the United States and foreign powers. He guides legislation. Except through the power of appointment, he does not come in contact with the judiciary, and can thus defend its independence. That is the kind of government that the Philippines needed, and that is the kind of government that the country will have.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF
THE PHILIPPINES

The Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth can or cannot be a figurehead, depending upon the wishes of the President. The Vice President will not, as in the United States, preside over the Senate, and will not be expected to expend his surplus energies at dinner parties and official receptions. On the other hand, he can be more nearly like the former Vice Governor of the Philippines, since he can be appointed to the Cabinet and also as head of an executive department. Should, however, the President not desire the Vice President in the Cabinet, the latter will have absolutely no duties to perform.

The Vice President is elected along with the President by direct vote of the people for six years. The Vice President becomes President if at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President the latter shall have died. Also, the powers and duties of the President devolve upon the Vice President in the event of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to serve.

As long as the President and the Vice President come from one party or from a coalition of parties, all will be well. The Vice President will then be called to the Cabinet and will naturally be the chief adviser of the President. But if the President belongs to one party and the Vice President to another party, and there is no alliance of the two, the Vice President will have to be content with an empty honor and with drawing his salary, with time available to intrigue for power.

THE CABINET

The administration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines is carried on by seven executive departments, namely, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Finance,

the Department of Justice, the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, the Department of Public Works and Communications, the Department of Public Instruction, and the Department of Labor. The heads of these departments constitute the Cabinet, and in addition to supervising the activities of their respective departments, act as a body, in an advisory capacity to the President of the Commonwealth. It is to be expected that in the future as in the past, the names of these departments and the make-up of the Cabinet will undergo changes.

Executive departments were organized coincident with the implantation of civil authority after the Spanish-American War. Over a span of years four departments were thought sufficient. Gradually the pressure for expansion and division of authority became too great to be resisted, and seven central offices were found necessary where a less number formerly functioned. Likewise, while a cabinet official was formerly able to supervise the offices under him, later this likewise was changed, and each department was given an under-secretary to help his chief, and some departments even claimed to need two or three under-secretaries as assistants.

The nature of the Cabinet was also gradually transformed. The Jones Law required that all executive functions of the government must be under the direct control of the Governor-General. Nevertheless, the Cabinet came to be responsible in part to the Philippine Legislature and the legislative leaders. The members of the Cabinet were appointed by the Governor-General only after consultation with the Filipino leaders, who restricted their recommendations to persons affiliated with the dominant party. Included among the members of the Cabinet were legislators. The appointees of Governor-General Murphy to the last Cabinet included four members of the Legislature, Senators Teofilo Sison and Elpidio Quirino and Representatives Eulogio Rodriguez and Ramon Torres.

The development of such practices made it difficult to

classify the government. In theory it was patterned after the American Government and so was of the presidential type. In practice the government approached nearer to the parliamentary system of government. First Osmeña and later Quezon was the titular head of the party in power and the responsible leader of the Filipino participation in the government. This brought realization to the Governor-General of the necessity of maintaining harmonious relations with the Filipino leaders to insure a successful administration. Osmeña and Quezon although not in the Cabinet were of the Cabinet, in fact if not in name were Premiers.

The Constitution continues the executive departments as authorized by the Government of the Philippine Islands. The heads of departments upon their own initiative or upon the request of the National Assembly may be heard by the Assembly. However, the government is brought back to the presidential form of government by the constitutional prohibition against any member of the National Assembly holding any other office without forfeiting his seat.

Big men have filled cabinet posts in the Philippine Government. Among them were capable Americans, like Dean C. Worcester in Interior, and W. Morgan Shuster and Charles E. Yeater in Public Instruction—and capable Filipinos, like Gregorio Araneta, the first Filipino to become secretary of an executive department, that of Finance and Justice; Rafael Palma, the first official to occupy at the same time legislative and executive positions, namely, member of the Philippine Senate and Secretary of the Interior; and Victorino Mapa, who stepped aside as a member of the Supreme Court to become Secretary of Justice.

EXECUTIVE BUREAUS AND OFFICES

The bureaus, offices, and governmental units under their corresponding departments and heads are grouped as follows:

PRESIDENT

Vice President
Cabinet
Secretary to the President
General Auditing Office
Bureau of Civil Service
Philippine Constabulary
Philippine National Bank
Manila Railroad Company
Manila Hotel
National Development Company
Cebu Portland Cement Company

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Provinces
Municipalities
Chartered cities (Manila and Baguio)
Other political subdivisions
Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes
 Provinces comprised under the former Department of Mindanao
 and Sulu
 Mountain Province
 Nueva Vizcaya
Board of Censorship for Moving Pictures

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

Office of the Secretary
 Administrative Division
 Budget Office
 Division of Purchase and Supply
Bureau of Customs
Bureau of Internal Revenue
Bureau of the Treasury
Bureau of Banking
Bureau of Printing
Tobacco Inspection Board
Manila Harbor Board

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Bureau of Justice
Courts of First Instance and inferior courts
Public Service Commission
Bureau of Prisons
General Land Registration Office
Provincial sheriffs, provincial fiscals, and all other law officers
Board of Indeterminate Sentence
Anti-Usury Board

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary
Under Secretary
Commissioner of Research
General Service
Commercial and Industrial Promotion
Bureau of Commerce
Bureau of Science
Weather Bureau
Navigation
Natural Resources
Bureau of Lands
Bureau of Forestry
Agricultural Industries
Bureau of Plant Industry
Bureau of Animal Industry
Fiber Inspection Service

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Division of Aeronautics
Bureau of Public Works
Bureau of Posts
Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey
Metropolitan Water District (Secretary of department is President of the Board)

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Commissioner of Health and Welfare
Bureau of Health
Bureau of Public Welfare

Philippine General Hospital
Bureau of Quarantine Service
Boards of Examiners—medical, dental, pharmaceutical, optical,
and nurses
Under Secretary of Public Instruction
Bureau of Education
Division of Private Schools and Colleges
Office of the National Physical Director

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Secretary of Labor
Under Secretary of Labor
Inspector-General of Labor

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Under National Assembly

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

An independent unit

The activities of these offices cover a wide range, if anything, too wide a range. For it is axiomatic that the Philippine Government cannot support a top-heavy official class. Of course, it is impracticable in a book like this to itemize the duties of the directors of the bureaus and government units. Accordingly, simply permit me to add that from personal knowledge these chiefs of bureaus and offices number honest and experienced men with technical knowledge in their respective fields. If not hindered by undue interference, they will carry on to the best of their ability.

THE CIVIL SERVICE ²

The fifth Act enacted by the Philippine Commission was the Civil Service Law. The purpose of the law was to provide for a civil service system in which merit and fitness alone

² Section read by Mr. Jose Gil, Director of Civil Service.

should govern appointments and promotions, to be determined by competitive examinations, and in which outside influence should not be permitted to be present. As originally provided, the law was of an advanced type. Even so, from time to time it has been extended in scope until it includes all the bureaus of the central government, a large part of the offices of the provincial governments, and municipal treasurers.

The Constitution sanctions a Civil Service embracing all branches and subdivisions of the Government. The Constitution prohibits officers and employees in the Civil Service from engaging in partisan political activities and from receiving additional or double compensation unless specifically authorized by law.

Civil Service employees are allowed vacation leave and accrued leave. Retirement privileges have been provided for officers and employees under general laws and forced temporary measures. Pensions have been authorized for the teachers in the Bureau of Education, the personnel of the Bureau of Health, and the officers and men of the Philippine Constabulary. Unfortunately, these pension systems were authorized without the help of technical advice by actuaries, and so are in imminent danger of going bankrupt.

From the beginning of American occupation, it has been the consistent policy to give all positions in the Government to Filipinos whenever there were competent persons to fill them. The result has been a steady *Filipinization* of the service. In 1935, when the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established, there was a total of 21,000 regular employees in the civil service, and all but about 300 of them were Filipinos. The few Americans then remaining were mostly teachers.

When I entered the government service I was required to take the first-grade civil service examination, which I narrowly passed. Thereafter I was employed in the civil service as a temporary clerk, a permanent clerk, and so on. My ex-

perience brought me in contact with some mighty fine men and women, both Americans and Filipinos. Student clerks more given to learning their lessons than to performing their official duties might be altogether too prevalent; nepotism might prevail in a few offices; politics might enter in other places; graft might occur here and there, but generally I found the civil service employees a faithful and hard-working lot.

I wonder how these government employees will get along when, as seems inevitable, their already pitifully insufficient salaries are still further reduced.

MALACAÑAN PALACE³

The President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines will reside in the historic Malacañan Palace. Malacañan was originally a country house for the Spanish Governors-General, but when the earthquake of 1863 destroyed the official palace in the Walled City in Manila, the representatives of the Spanish Crown took up their abode in Malacañan. As a matter of course, thereafter it became the residence of American Governors-General.

Malacañan Palace is situated in the San Miguel District, in fact its next-door neighbor is the San Miguel Brewery. Malacañan's balcony projects over the swiftly flowing Pasig River, the same Pasig River on which Governor-General and Mrs. Taft celebrated a Venetian night. The gardens along the river are well cared for and become fairy-land when illuminated for an evening's entertainment. Although still reminiscent of Spanish architecture, the building has been thoroughly modernized since American occupation. Governor-General Harrison, Democrat, very thoughtfully superintended the erection of an Executive Building next door to the

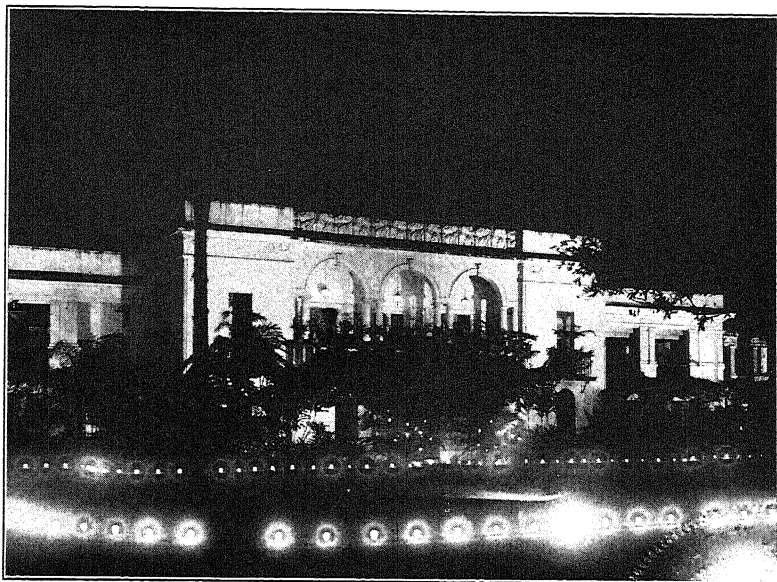
³ Section read by Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Garfinkel, Aide de camp to the Governor-General.

palace for the use of Republican successors. Governor-General Davis, after having to seek repose in his office so that official visitors could be accommodated, saw to it that Malacañan was enlarged. As now existing, the palace serves as a delightful home for the President of the Commonwealth, has sufficient guest rooms, and has a huge floor space admirably fitted for large receptions.

As you pass up the grand stairway you sense the grandeur that was Spain's, the power that was America's, and the right that is the Philippines'. At the head of the stairway, to the left as you enter, is to be seen the famous painting by Juan Luna depicting Legaspi's blood compact with Sikatuna, Chieftain of Bohol. To the right is the immense *sala* (reception room) where stand the President and his wife to extend cordial welcome to their guests. Later, after cocktails have been taken in the library, dinner will be served in the paneled and artistic dining room.

Here in Malacañan the Governor-General and his lady received with impressive dignity the social-loving people of the Islands. Malacañan assumed gala beauty with these functions. An official ball was a sight never to be forgotten. Myriads of electric lights. The Constabulary Band playing popular airs. A never-ending stream of the favored four hundred grown into two thousand or more. Smartly dressed women. Army and Navy officers proudly displaying their decorations. And then after a smiling but weary Governor-General and Mrs. Governor-General had left the receiving line, the stately *rigodon de honor*, a legacy from Spanish pomp, which opened the ball.

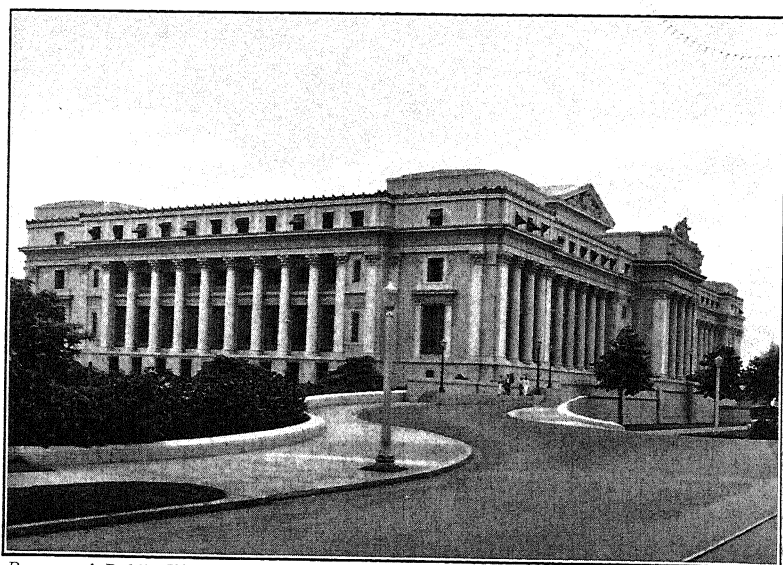
The receptions, dinners, and balls of Malacañan were more than social gatherings. Other and more substantial purposes were served. Race prejudice dissolved in the hospitable atmosphere. The Filipino people learned to think of Malacañan as theirs. Often the palace was the sole meeting-place for cosmopolitan Manila. The American business man considered an



Bureau of Public Works photograph

MALACAÑAN PALACE

As it looks after being reconstructed, illuminated for an official reception.



Bureau of Public Works photograph

THE LEGISLATIVE BUILDING

This is acclaimed the finest edifice in the Philippines. Besides serving the needs of the National Assembly, the building houses the National Library.

imperialist, and the Filipino politician looked upon as an ingrate, met and rubbed shoulders and found each other real. Many a tale has been told in strictest confidence, many a state matter has been smoothed over amidst the revelry of Malacañan.

The occupancy of Malacañan by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines will mean more to the Filipinos than just a graceful gesture; it typifies real autonomy. Henceforth in the popular estimation, the President will be number one in the land, ranking even the High Commissioner representing the sovereign power. Where once ruled Spanish and American Viceroys will now live a Filipino chosen by the Filipinos.

CHAPTER X

LEGISLATIVE POWER ¹

PRECURSORS OF THE PRESENT LEGISLATIVE BODY

THE immediate predecessors of the National Assembly of the Commonwealth of the Philippines were the Philippine Commission, the Philippine Assembly, and the Philippine Legislature. Combined they form a splendid background of legislative experience for the present law-making body.

The Philippine Commission came on the scene of its future activities with no guide of any sort, except the McKinley-Root Instructions, which were of a general character, and with but one Commissioner acquainted with local conditions. That under such handicaps the Philippine Commission was able to perform so well the legislative part of its program, in conjunction with the executive duties of its members, was a credit to American adaptability, initiative, and industry.

The Philippine Commission was organized as an appointive body with exclusive legislative authority over the entire archipelago. It thus remained until the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, with which it divided authority in the so-called Christian region. In the early days not only was the Philippine Commission a unicameral body, but it was a commission in fact as well as in name. With the exception of three Filipino Commissioners without portfolios, the remaining Commissioners were the American heads of executive depart-

¹ This chapter was read by two prominent members of the House of Representatives, Philippine Legislature, one of whom did not endorse the statements contained therein, and the other of whom found the chapter "excellent and accurate in every detail."

ments. The Commission disappeared entirely with the creation of the Philippine Senate in 1916.

A legislative body of the nature of the Philippine Commission could be expected to pass bills rapidly. The small membership, the lack of an applauding audience, and the immense amount of work which the Commissioners were called upon to perform were not conducive to oratory. Not that all the laws enacted by the Commission were the product of this swift process. Many laws, and these the main pieces of legislation, were the result of months of study and deliberation.

The Philippine Commission with amazing dispatch, energy, and thoroughness laid the basis of Philippine statutory law.

The trouble with the Philippine Commission was that the people had no direct voice in the making of their laws. To remedy this situation, Governor-General Taft insisted that provision be made in the Philippine Bill of 1902 for the setting up of a representative legislative chamber. In the face of opposition from the standpatters and of forebodings from those pessimistically inclined, this unparalleled act in the history of colonization was sanctioned. Mr. Taft, now become Secretary of War, made a special trip to the Philippines to inaugurate the Philippine Assembly on October 16, 1907.

The Philippine Assembly organized with Sergio Osmeña as Speaker and Manuel L. Quezon as Floor Leader. Neither of them yet thirty, both had the gift of leadership which was to make themselves and the Assembly successes. Additional prestige was gained when Secretary Taft announced that the Speaker of the Philippine Assembly was to be considered the second personage in rank in the Philippines. Gradually the Speaker drew power closer to himself and consolidated his position as the leader of the Filipino element in the government.

Bring to mind here that when the Philippine Assembly

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Bring to mind here that when the Philippine Assembly

began to function it was the first representative body of its kind to be known in the Islands' history. No traditions were behind it. No precedents could be cited to steer its course. A few members had belonged to the Malolos Congress, but the great majority of them were entirely without legislative experience. How readily under such conditions a gathering could have degenerated into a leaderless mob. How disappointing could have been the record of an untried body of men. How pleased chronic croakers would have been at the failure of the Philippine Assembly. In spite of all drawbacks, the Philippine Assembly succeeded in its purposes.

The Philippine Assembly in association with the Philippine Commission carried on the work of legislation. But now bills could not go through the legislative mill so rapidly as when there was no check on the Philippine Commission. Disputes between the two bodies were inevitable. Some differences could be compromised, but others could not. In the case of appropriations came a stalemate, and the Governor-General assumed the right to allocate the budget items. But more important than anything, valuable lessons in law-making were learned by the accredited representatives of the Filipino people.

It was not difficult for the Philippine Senate to supplant the Philippine Commission. The Filipinos already had been given in 1913 a majority on the Philippine Commission, and so the change simply amounted to the substitution of an elective process for an appointive process. Then there came to the Presidency of the Philippine Senate, with the prestige of having secured increased autonomy and the Congressional promise of ultimate independence for his people, and with ripe years of personal development behind him, Manuel L. Quezon, the same Quezon who had been the Floor Leader of the Assembly and the energetic Resident Commissioner in the United States. Later he was to be joined in the Senate by his old friend, Sergio Osmeña, former Speaker of the

House, and the Speakership was to go to the brilliant young Governor of Capiz, just elected to the House, Representative Manuel A. Roxas.

Before the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, legislative power in the Philippines was vested in the Philippine Legislature composed of a small Senate of twenty-four members and a large House of Representatives of nearly a hundred members. With the exception of men to represent the Non-Christian Provinces, who were appointed by the Governor-General, they were elected by direct vote of the people. In organization and procedure, the Legislature followed the general scheme of American legislative bodies.

I would say that the Philippine Commission, the Philippine Assembly, and the Philippine Legislature all made excellent legislative records. If the present National Assembly can prove as nearly successful, the Philippines will not suffer.

THE UNICAMERAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines and Nebraska ran a close race for the distinction of being the first jurisdiction under the American flag, in modern times, to initiate the experiment of a one-house legislature. Nebraska took action first, but the Philippines will get her unicameral National Assembly into operation first. In both instances the arguments that carried most weight were those of simplicity and economy. It remains to be seen whether or not these considerations will more than offset the loss of checks and balances provided by the traditional two-chamber method.

Legislative power in the Philippines is now vested in a National Assembly composed of not to exceed one hundred and twenty members chosen every three years. Until an apportionment shall be made, the National Assembly will con-

sist of ninety-eight members, or of practically the same membership as the former House of Representatives in the Philippine Legislature. In contrast, however, to the Philippine Legislature, wherein some members were appointed, all of the members of the National Assembly will be elected by the qualified voters, except in the Moro Provinces of Sulu, Lanao, and Cotabato where other methods may be followed.

The National Assembly convenes in regular session every year on the second Monday of the month immediately following that on which the election of its members was held. The officers of the Assembly are a Speaker, a Secretary, and a Sergeant-at-Arms. Members are prohibited, among other things, from being financially interested in contracts with the Government.

Bills passed by the National Assembly are presented to the President for approval. The President has the right to veto a bill or any separate item or items in an appropriation, revenue, or tariff bill. Thereafter the Assembly has the right by a two-thirds vote of all its members to reconsider and pass the bill or item over the President's veto. In the latter case the bill becomes a law notwithstanding the disapproval of the President.

It was once my opinion that it would be better for the Philippines to remain conservative, and accordingly to continue the bicameral system. On further reflection, however, I have come to believe the unicameral system more suitable for actual Philippine conditions than the system that it supplanted. The practice of passing most of the bills on the last night of the session was destructive of the safeguards against hasty legislation which the checks and balances provided by two Houses were intended to afford. A strong executive acting through the Speaker can guide a one-chamber legislature more effectively than a two-chamber legislature. The Philippine Government must perforce be a cheaply run government, and every possible *centavo* saved from the appro-

priation for the legislative department means just that much more money available for productive purposes. In time the precedent set by the Philippines may prove so successful that other jurisdictions will be induced to authorize similar legislative machinery.

POWERS GRANTED THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Legislative power is granted the National Assembly in general terms subject to specific limitations. That was the rule under the Government of the Philippine Islands. There is no reason to doubt that it will be the rule under the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

In addition, certain powers are specifically given the National Assembly. For instance, the Assembly, within certain limitations, may prescribe the jurisdiction of the various courts. The Assembly can delegate important functions to the President. Finally, the Assembly, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all its members, has the sole power to declare war.

It is obvious that the National Assembly can only pass laws for the field delimited by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. Various constitutional provisions also serve to restrict legislative power. Aside from these familiar limitations on legislation found in the Bill of Rights, it is noteworthy that the National Assembly may not increase the appropriation recommended by the President for the ordinary operation of government, except for the National Assembly and the Judiciary.

COMMISSIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Having sanctioned the principle of unicameralism, the Philippine Constitutional Convention was confronted with certain embarrassing questions. It solved them in an ingenious manner. Associated with the National Assembly are three

commissions, the Electoral Commission, the Commission on Appointments, and the Commission on Impeachment.

The Electoral Commission is a mixed judicial-legislative body. It is composed of three Justices of the Supreme Court and three representatives of the majority and three representatives of the minority parties in the Assembly. The Commission is made the sole judge of cases involving the seats of the members of the National Assembly. The Justices of the Supreme Court being given the balance of power on the Commission and the minority being given equal rights with the majority, it is hoped that non-partisan adjudication of election contests will be insured. The complaint is that judicial and legislative powers are intermingled, and that the Supreme Court will be drawn into politics.

The Commission on Appointments and the Commission on Impeachment are elected by the National Assembly from among its members on the basis of proportional representation of the political parties. Each Commission consists of twenty-one members. The consent of the Commission on Appointments is needed to make effective nominations for office made by the President. The Commission on Impeachment by a vote of two-thirds of its members has the sole power of impeachment. Impeachments are tried by the National Assembly.

LEGISLATIVE PRACTICES

I have adverted to the speed with which the Philippine Commission could make and unmake laws. An idea would come to the Governor-General or the Secretary of a department. A stenographer is called. A bill is dictated. In the next to the last section of the bill is automatically inserted the provision that the public good requiring the speedy enactment of this bill, passage of the same is hereby expedited. The bill is introduced in the Commission, is passed, and is on the statute books. All possible in the same day.

The Beekman Winthrop episode is a classic example of the ease with which a law was made to fit the case. Mr. Winthrop was the executive secretary of the Commission. It was desired to give him a position on the Philippine bench. The organic law for the judiciary provided as qualifications for a Judge that he should (1) be more than thirty years of age, and (2) have practised law at least five years before appointment. Unhappily for all concerned, young Mr. Winthrop was not thirty and had not practised law for five years. *No importa* (not important). *Presto* a special law (Act No. 1024) was passed. The age requirement was reduced to twenty-five and the legal practice requirement was made alternative, with a clause providing that the appointee should have been a graduate for three years of a law school of recognized standing. Executive Secretary Winthrop became Judge Winthrop and after deciding a famous case became Governor Winthrop of Puerto Rico.

The Philippine Legislature gravitated to the other extreme of putting off the work of today until *mañana* (tomorrow), until in fact *mañana* had become the last night of the last day when there could be no more *mañana*. This practice so easily susceptible to slipshod legislation was railed against by the Chief Executives, for it threw a heavy burden on them when they had to winnow the wheat from the chaff, the wise bills from the unwise bills. The practice also resulted in the railroading of bills of which the average legislators knew nothing. It remained for Speaker Quintin Paredes to announce that twelve o'clock midnight meant twelve o'clock midnight, and that the House of Representatives would then adjourn *sine die*, and to the consternation of the members of the House and of the Senate, adjourn the House did as the clock struck twelve. The Constitution of the Philippines attempts to prevent the passage of bills wholesale during the much condemned "*sine die* session" of the Legislature, by requiring the printing and distribution of copies of bills at least

three days prior to final passage by the National Assembly.

It is current rumor that because so many bills were rushed through the legislative mill on the last day of the session, some of them were doctored subsequent to the *sine die* session of the Legislature. The finger of guilt pointed most often to the public works bill and the pork barrel items in it. Oft denied by legislative leaders, veteran reporters vouch for the truthfulness of the charge, that bills were rewritten after the Legislature had adjourned or, to touch on the point more lightly, that "mistakes" were found and "corrected." What is certain is that days intervened before a bill reached the Bureau of Printing and before even those most vitally concerned were able to secure copies of it.

Pork barrel was an apparently unavoidable evil. The political life of the legislator depended on reëlection, and reëlection depended on securing public improvements for his district. So it came to be the custom for a lump sum to be allotted each member, more for a Senator than for a Representative, and much more for an adherent of the majority party than for an unfortunate adherent of the minority. The member subdivided his allotment among as many projects as possible, mostly school-houses. A public works bill commonly supposed to constitute dry reading in this respect makes interesting reading. At random take Act No. 4180, the Public Works Act for 1935. The leaf opens at Bohol, and for that Province eighty-seven items from 200 pesos, the lowest, to 8,000 pesos, the highest, are noted. Some, maybe all, of these projects would be beneficial to the public. But they could not be realized because for certain ones the appropriation was insufficient and for others not imperative, and because the government coffers simply did not contain the money for them. The Secretary of Public Works and Communications stood firm against the practice, and at last, with the coöperation of the Governor-General and President Quezon, the Secretary was able to pretty well put a stop to it.

The legislator's pay was something like 6,000 pesos (\$3,000) per annum in the House and something like 7,000 pesos (\$3,500) in the Senate. Under the Commonwealth the members receive an annual compensation of 5,000 pesos (\$2,500) each. These sums are higher than those authorized in much wealthier countries. In Japan, for instance, 3,000 yen a year and traveling expenses suffice for the members of the Imperial Diet. But the need of the Philippine legislator, real or glorified, to keep up appearances, and his obligations to political lieutenants, all combined to keep him interminably in debt.

Of course, this picture is a composite one. It does not pretend to portray the life of all the members. Legislators there were who lived strictly within their incomes and who worked and worked hard.

The foibles of the legislator came to public notice when the Revised Penal Code was enacted by the Philippine Legislature. First the penalties for gambling-law violations were radically reduced. Next, as a completely protective measure, a joker was slipped into the Code which under the guise of legislative immunity prohibited the "search" of any member of the Legislature during the time it was in session.² The facility with which gambling raids can be thwarted when a complacent member of the Legislature is present to receive the cards and paraphernalia needs no elucidation. The joker was brought to light when the Revised Penal Code reached the Governor-General for approval, and the promise was made that if he would not veto the Code, the objectionable feature would be eliminated. It never has been.

A favorite device to insure harmony in the Legislature was the frequent calling of caucuses of members of the majority party. Speaker Osmeña was particularly fond of this means of maintaining party discipline and of whipping recalcitrant

² See Commentaries of Judge Guillermo B. Guevara, a member of the Code Revision Committee, to article 145 of the Revised Penal Code, pp. 222-225.

members into line. Legislation thus emanated not from committees but from a party, and over this party stood its chief, who could virtually dictate or veto legislation.

Aside from the foregoing unique features, legislation in the Philippines has conformed to generally accepted procedure elsewhere. Good laws have been enacted. Committees have rendered valuable reports. Speeches have been delivered which have reached the heights of eloquence. Those of Representative Recto in opposition to the *Nacionalista* Party, of Representative Roxas on being deposed from the Speakership for adherence to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, and of Senators Osmeña and Quezon in their joint debate on the same Act, were particularly effective and dramatic in their setting and appeal.

FORMER SPEAKER AND SENATOR SERGIO OSMEÑA,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH ³

If any one man personifies legislative power in the Philippines, that man is Sergio Osmeña. He has been continuously a member of the Philippine Legislature from the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly to the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, and during those long years has as continuously occupied a commanding position in the Legislature. First, Speaker of the Philippine Assembly and of the House of Representatives. Next, President *Pro Tempore* of the Philippine Senate. Now, Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth and leader of the opposition.

Sergio Osmeña was born in Cebu on September 9, 1878. This makes him fifty-seven years of age. But it is a vigorous fifty-seven, for despite his lack of strenuous exercise and despite his lack of outdoor hobbies, he is in good trim physically. Cebu, his birthplace, has ever been his home except for

³ Section read by Senator Manuel C. Briones, formerly the Junior Senator from Cebu.

the periods when official duties have taken him to Manila or abroad.

Osmeña's schooling was received in the Paulist College and Seminary of Cebu, the San Juan de Letran College, and the University of Santo Tomas. From the latter institution and the University of the Philippines he holds honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws. However, Osmeña's education is much broader in scope, for of a studious nature, he is widely read, particularly in the fields of law, history, and politics, and widely travelled. The early environment of Osmeña made him a sincere adherent of the Roman Catholic faith and of a reverently religious bent.

The public career of Osmeña began as provincial *fiscal* (prosecutor) of Cebu and Oriental Negros in 1904. Then, elected Governor of Cebu, he gained additional prestige on being chosen President of the first Provincial Governor's Convention in 1906. Shortly thereafter, his province sent him as a delegate to the first Philippine Assembly. Delegate Osmeña was the logical candidate for Speaker, to which position he was chosen by acclamation. He remained as Speaker until 1922, when he was elected Senator from Cebu. As a member of the Senate he was a leader of the *Nacionalista* Party and President *Pro Tempore*, until in 1933 he resigned the latter position in protest against the majority's attitude in rejecting the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. Two years later, Osmeña was elected Vice President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

In politics Osmeña has been an ardent Nationalist. He was undisputed head of the *Nacionalista* Party for fourteen years. For one election the party split into *Unipersonalistas*, Osmeña men, and *Colectivistas*, Quezon men, only thereafter to reunite with Quezon as President of the party and Osmeña as Vice President. When the second unpatchable differences of opinion between the two leaders were generated by the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, Osmeña withdrew from the old *Nacion-*

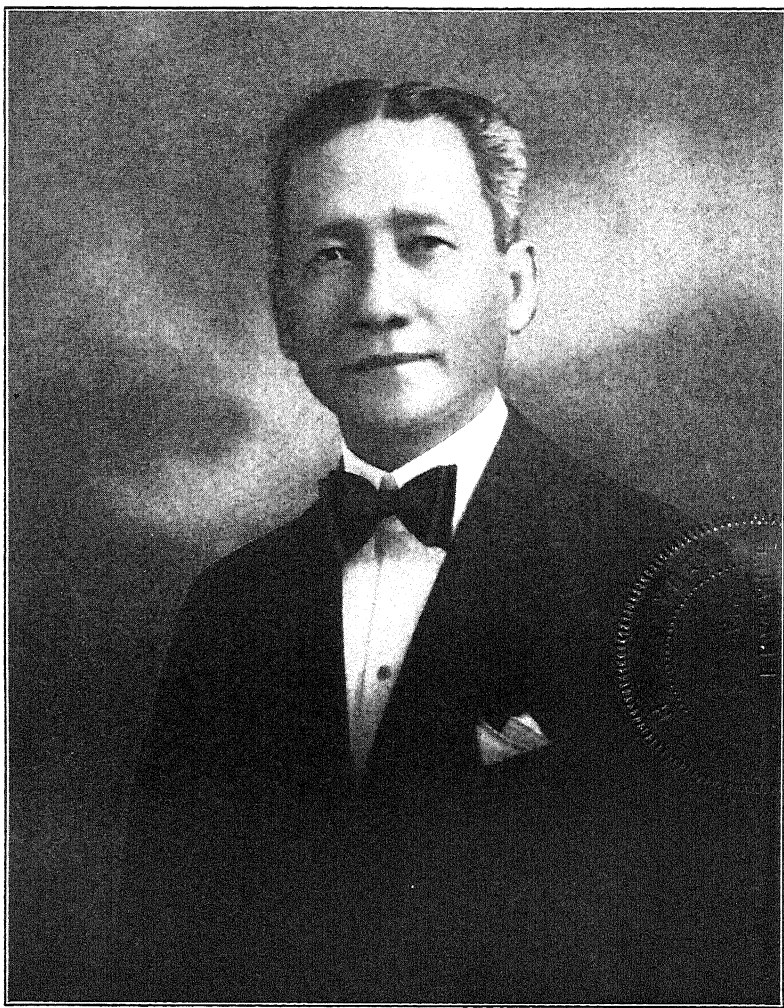
alista Party to head the newly formed *Nacionalista Pro Independencia* Party, now the *Nacionalista-Democrata Pro Independencia* Party. This has made him the leader of the opposition.

In the early years of the drive for Philippine independence, Osmeña was the directing head from Manila. The general in the field was his collaborator, Manuel L. Quezon. Later Osmeña was several times co-chairman of missions to the United States, including the one which brought home the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. It was in this field that he displayed his talents in diplomacy.

The foregoing impresses me as a rather dry biographical sketch of a well-known public man. Yet its transcription has been necessary to furnish a background for a little more intensive study of the life of one of the outstanding leaders of the Filipino people.

To begin with, let it be said that it fell to Sergio Osmeña's lot to organize and direct the scattered elements of nationalism during the most critical epoch of Philippine history. Recall that the Filipino insurgents had been decisively overwhelmed on the field of battle. Osmeña had to accomplish with peaceful weapons what warlike weapons had failed to accomplish. This he did by avoiding any hint of disloyalty to the American Government, coöperating with the sovereign power whenever he could, furnishing in himself an example of Filipino capacity for self-government, and adroitly outmaneuvering American Governors-General and thus gaining more rights for his people. No one can scan the career of this man without a gasp of astonishment at his success.

Consider the organization of the Philippine Assembly way back in 1907. Untried and unacquainted men made up its membership, and some of the older delegates were suspicious and envious of the young Speaker. Yet the Speaker was able to consolidate these divergent factions and to handle them



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HONORABLE SERGIO OSMEÑA, FORMER SPEAKER AND SENATOR,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

efficiently. At the same time, favorable contacts with American Commissioners, an American Governor-General, and a critical visiting Secretary of War had to be maintained. Placidly the Speaker began by insisting against opposition that the Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress be adopted. As placidly he began preparing himself for his job by studying parliamentary law and procedure. He gave evidence of his fairness by treating the minority with the maximum consideration. Within a short space of time no one doubted that Speaker Osmeña was as much Speaker of the Philippine Assembly as Thomas B. Reed had ever been in the zenith of his career as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the American Congress.

Secretary of War Taft had returned to the Philippines in 1907 not merely to open formally the Philippine Assembly but to observe contemporary events. In his special report to the President, the Secretary said:

Señor Osmeña has been one of the most efficient *fiscals*, or prosecuting attorneys, in the Islands, having conducted the government prosecutions in the largest province of the Islands, the province and island of Cebu. He was subsequently elected governor, and by his own activity in going into every part of the island, he succeeded in enlisting the assistance of all the people in suppressing ladronism, which had been rife in the mountains of Cebu for thirty or forty years, so that today there is absolute peace and tranquillity throughout the island. He is a young man not thirty, but of great ability, shrewdness, high ideals, and yet very practical in his methods of dealing with men and things. The assembly could have done nothing which indicated its good sense so strongly as the selection of Señor Osmeña as its presiding officer.

Many words have been scattered about in attempted description of Osmeña. He has been called urbane in gaining his ends in negotiation, illimitably patient, serene, wise,

astute, and cautious. All are accurately analytical phrases. But personally I like best to think of Osmeña in his office or his home where so frequently he has received me with perfect courtesy. With undivided attention in his office he has listened to my remarks, and with thoroughness he has answered my queries. In his home he has been the considerate host who with consummate tact has entertained his friends.

With sufficient means at his command, and happily married to Esperanza Limjap of the rich Manila family of that name (his second wife), Osmeña has been content to live modestly and without ostentation. Where the breath of scandal has lashed other public men of the Philippines for their fondness for clandestine affairs of the heart, it has never touched Osmeña. Other great or near-great politicians have "private telephones" installed in their homes; Osmeña never has. Some in public life are lax in their appointments, but not Osmeña; he is one Filipino who is prompt in his engagements to the minute. Still others may say one thing and mean the opposite; Osmeña has a reputation for keeping his promises. Personable in any company, one brief sentence sums up his character: He is a gentleman.

Osmeña has a sense of detachment which apparently nothing can penetrate. He much prefers negotiation to fighting. Yet when forced to do battle, he can do so courageously and determinedly. But with him, it is a battle of sportsmen. The exigencies of the situation brought him into opposition to Governor-General Forbes, but the two remained personally good friends. Politics required that on two occasions he contest with Quezon at the polls, yet he and Quezon remain intimate friends. Indeed, at one banquet President Quezon said, "Senator Osmeña is the best statesman that the Philippines has ever produced." That is a correct appreciation of Osmeña, the public man. He is a statesman.

I remarked in the beginning that Sergio Osmeña personifies the legislative power. He does that and more. Sergio Osmeña

personifies all that is best in Philippine politics, history, and life.

Former Speaker and Senator Sergio Osmeña, the Vice President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, is a gentleman and a statesman.

CHAPTER XI

JUDICIAL POWER¹

THE PHILIPPINE JUDICIARY

IT can be stated without fear of successful contradiction that no jurisdiction under the American flag has exhibited so many unique legal features as the Philippines. To mention a few: (1) the appointment of judges to serve practically for life; (2) the absence of the jury system, placing on the trial judge the burden of deciding both the facts and the law; (3) the sanction of two official court languages, English and Spanish, and the constant necessity to interpret from the vernacular to one of these languages; (4) a Supreme Court of eleven members, with revisory powers, deciding over two thousand cases annually; (5) the interpretation and enforcement of an amalgamated civil law—common law with appended Mohammedan law and customary law, and (6) the use of the Torrens and Cadastral systems of trying titles to lands. With reference to these six topics, I cannot recall that anyone has ever arisen to advocate seriously the election of judges in the Philippines, or the implantation of the jury system. The dual use of English and Spanish in the courts seems a necessary evil, made so because of the lack of determination to insist on English exclusively. The last three subjects will be discussed in succeeding sections of this chapter.

Judicial power in the Philippines is confided to the Supreme Court of the Philippines, various courts of first instance, numerous justice of the peace courts, and the municipal

¹ This chapter was read by Hon. Jose Yulo, Secretary of Justice.

court of the City of Manila. Abolished have been the tribal ward courts, the court of customs appeal, and the land registration court, the latter for unconvincing reasons. The Chief Justice and the Justices of the Supreme Court have been appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. The other judges have been appointed by the Governor-General with the advice and consent of the Philippine Senate. Judges of all the courts, including the Supreme Court, will under the Commonwealth be named by the President of the Commonwealth with the "consent" (note that "advice" is eliminated) of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly.

The independence of the Philippine Judiciary has been sincerely desired by all right-thinking citizens. This objective was partially attained through the appointment of judges for what amounted to life tenures of office and through permitting of removals only after an orderly procedure had been followed. Yet truth compels me to affirm that the judiciary has constantly had to be on the alert to thwart encroachments by the other powers.

Formerly, in Philippine Commission days and even later than that, it was the practice to assign a judge of first instance to try a particular case. The intimation that a certain kind of verdict was wanted was not lost on the judge. Indeed, judges have been bluntly told by special prosecutors that the judge had better hand down the decision desired. It remained for a Filipino jurist, Manuel Araullo, subsequently the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to disprove the belief that the courts of justice could be influenced and to furnish an inspiring example of judicial rectitude.

Twice, firstly during the Harrison administration, and secondly during the Roosevelt administration, laws were enacted which placed judges below the Supreme Court at the mercy of the appointing power, consisting of the Governor-General acting in coöperation with the Secretary of Justice and the

Filipino leaders, and which caused the removal of many judges. Presumably there were proven charges against these judges of which the public knew nothing, but if so the investigations were star-chamber conducted, with the result that much dissatisfaction was exhibited.

Fortunately the Supreme Court has proved a jealous defender of judicial independence. Two celebrated cases decided by that Court boldly announced to all concerned that meddling in judicial matters by outsiders would not be tolerated. I am pleased to be able to record that I had the honor of writing the majority decisions in both instances. Without thought of intruding too much of legal history, let me tell you briefly of these cases.

Andres Borrromeo had been duly appointed and commissioned judge of first instance of the twenty-fourth judicial district comprising the Provinces of Surigao and Misamis. For six years he acted as judge in those provinces, but through his unbending character offended the local politicians. Accordingly, he was appointed to another district, an appointment which he consistently declined to accept. The Supreme Court, to the amazement of everyone, sustained the "fighting judge," as Judge Borrromeo had come to be called, on the ground that a judge of first instance can be made a judge of another district only with his consent. In its broader aspects the decision rested on the fundamental conception of an independent, fearless, and incorruptible judiciary.² Not long after, Judge Borrromeo was treacherously assassinated as he and others attempted to arrest a band of malefactors. It is a satisfaction to note that the Constitution of the Philippines provides that no judge appointed for a particular district shall be designated or transferred to another district without the approval of the Supreme Court.

The ruling in the Borrromeo case did not sit well with the Philippine Legislature. So a law was passed which provided

² *Borrromec v. Mariano* (1921), 41 Phil. 322.

for a lottery of judicial positions every five years. Again another fearless judge, Hon. Pedro Concepcion, was found to test the constitutionality of the law. The Supreme Court held the law invalid.³

The prompt administration of justice is another ideal which in the Philippines as elsewhere has been aimed at with varying degrees of success. Spanish procedure seemed skilfully adapted to attaining interminable delay. Since American occupation legal processes have been much hastened. Nevertheless, cases still proceed through months and years of trials, postponements, and appeals, to the dismay of litigants.

For some unexplained cause, the Province of Cavite has had the unfortunate honor of furnishing the worst examples of maladministration of justice. In 1888 one Juan de la Cruz, was charged with murder and lodged in the Cavite jail. Ten years later he was still there awaiting identification and trial. In 1920, one Ana Refresca, a young orphan girl, was abducted from her home in Calamba, Province of Laguna, and taken to Silang, Province of Cavite, where she was brutally raped. After an abortive start in the Laguna court the matter was permitted to lag. The offended girl petitioned the Governor-General and the Wood-Forbes Mission for protection. In 1922 new informations were presented in the Cavite Court. The trial dragged on for five years. During the trial one of the accused escaped and was later killed by the Philippine Constabulary. Finally, after eight years had elapsed, the remaining accused was convicted.⁴

The Cu Unjieng case, not of Cavite, is believed to constitute some kind of a world record, certainly a Philippine record for judicial prolixity. The accused, Mariano Cu Unjieng, was a rich Chinese merchant of Manila. He was charged with the crimes of swindling and falsification to the grave financial prejudice of a foreign bank. The trial began

³ Concepcion v. Paredes (1921), 42 Phil. 599.

⁴ People v. Manguiat and Sanqui (1928), 51 Phil. 406.

sult of a compromise. An intermediate court of appeals, to relieve the Supreme Court of a portion of the heavy burden laid on it, was twice authorized by the Philippine Legislature only to have one bill vetoed, and the second approved but never put in force, due to the fear of the Washington authorities that American sovereignty would not be sufficiently protected. Nothing daunted, the Legislature tried again, and on this occasion provided for a court of fifteen, but the United States Senate wisely refused to confirm the Presidential nominations to such an unwieldy court because, as one distinguished Senator observed, it was "stupid legislation." For the third time the Legislature acted to provide for a court of eleven, and this law worked acceptably when tried out.

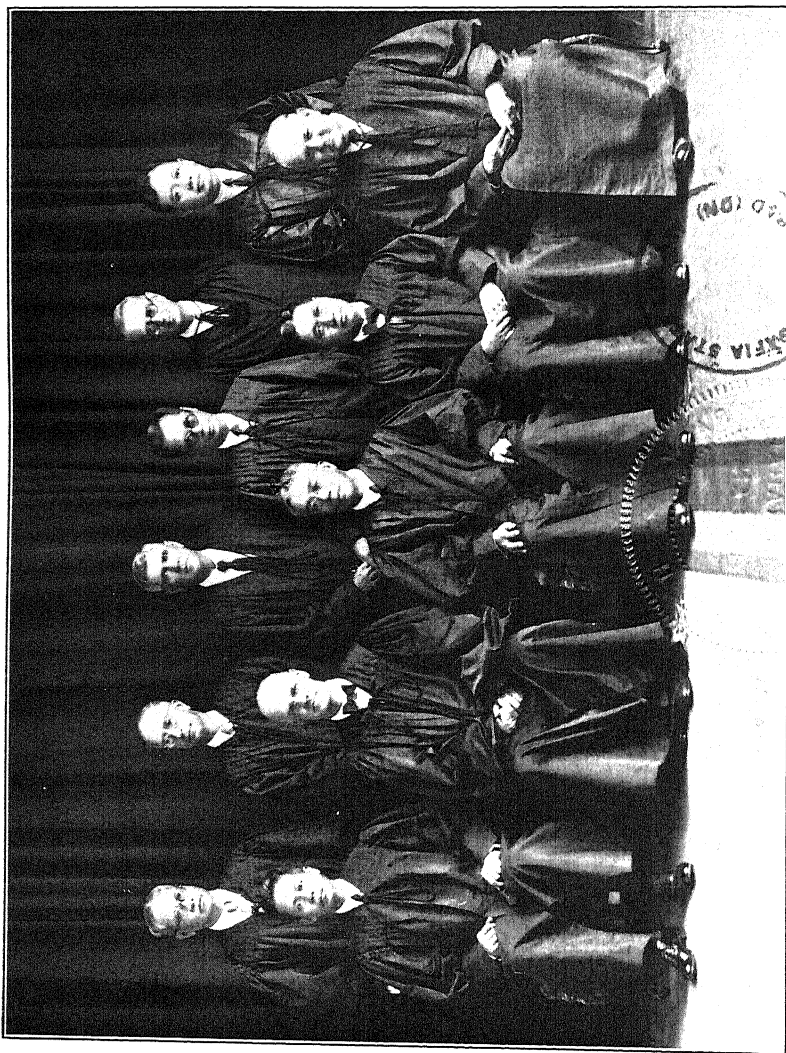
The Supreme Court meets in Manila every year in July, and except for the Christmas holidays, sits continuously until April. During April and May, court sessions are usually held in Baguio. The Solicitor-General acts for the Government in the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court has been granted jurisdiction equivalent approximately to that of a Supreme Court of a State and of a United States Circuit Court of Appeals. It has been a tribunal of great power and dignity. Many of its practices conform to those of other appellate courts. In certain respects, however, the Court harrowed new ground. Being required to decide 2,000 cases annually to keep its docket clear, it decided that many cases. (In 1934, the last full year before the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth, the Supreme Court disposed of 2,316 cases.) Being free to go either to the common law or the civil law to find a principle, the Court could select that rule that was most practically and humanly applicable to the facts. Being susceptible to little restraint, the Court could cut through technicalities to do justice. Being a Court which had to piece out the meaning of legislation, it judicially legislated, and it is silly to contend otherwise. I am convinced that State courts could learn helpful lessons from

the experience of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

Judges of appellate courts in the American Union are smugly satisfied if they prepare fifty opinions a year and are highly elated if the number passes the hundred mark. But in the tropical near-equatorial seas, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands considered that year a failure which did not place one hundred and fifty opinions to his credit. The Court statistics, as of July 1, 1935, disclose some interesting facts. The member of the Supreme Court with longest service was Mr. Justice E. Finley Johnson, who was appointed on July 14, 1903, and continued on the Court until his resignation on March 31, 1932, and who during these twenty-nine years wrote 3,673 opinions. Mr. Justice Florentino Torres had the next longest service of nineteen years, and was well known for his industry. There is an adage that a new broom sweeps clean, and it was proved to be correct in the case of Mr. Justice James A. Ostrand, who during his first year on the Court wrote no less than 362 opinions, thus setting a mark which it is not likely anyone will surpass. The merits and demerits of dissenting opinions have been much debated and have found active advocates on the Court, some members not being inclined to note their dissent, while others, like Mr. Justice Sherman Moreland, were extremely active in indicating non-conformity with the views of the majority through the media of dissenting opinions.

The policy under the American administration, except in the beginning and the close, was to retain a majority of American judges on the Court. As originally organized the Supreme Court had six Filipino and three American members. But soon after when more permanently established the ratio was changed to four Americans to three Filipinos, and thereafter for years the American majority of one was continued. During the administration of President Wilson an attempt was made to shift the balance to the Filipino side, but this



THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

As existing just before the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Seated, left to right: Justice Jose Abad Santos, Justice George A. Malcolm, Chief Justice Ramon Avanceña, Justice Antonio Villa-Real, Justice John A. Hull; standing, left to right: Justice Anacleto Diaz, Justice George C. Butte, Justice James C. Vickers, Justice Carlos A. Imperial, Justice Leonard S. Goddard, Justice Claro M. Recto. (Photograph by Sun Studio.)

plan was defeated when the United States Senate refused to confirm the nominations. A few months before the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, President Roosevelt, coincidently with the approval of the Philippine Constitution, named Hon. Claro M. Recto, the President of the Convention which had drafted the Constitution, a member of the Court, thus giving the Filipinos a majority.

The policy has also been to have a Filipino Chief Justice, and the four jurists who have filled the position have been Filipinos. Cayetano S. Arellano, Victorino Mapa, Manuel Araullo, and Ramon Avanceña proved themselves to be exceptionally well qualified for the position and commanded the respect of their colleagues and the confidence of the public.

The Supreme Court has in turn been the subject of unstinted praise and unjust criticism. Judge Charles B. Elliott, once a member of the Court, has written that the "Court has always enjoyed the deserved confidence and respect of the country."⁵ A similar finding was made by the Wood-Forbes Mission. Secretary of War George H. Dern in his address on the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines paid tribute to the Supreme Court by characterizing it "as an everlasting credit to both the American and Filipino peoples." On the other side of the shield appear the vicious attacks of Representative Tomas Alonso. With a personal spite to vent, he gained momentary notoriety by airing his grievances before the House of Representatives. But the blackest mark on the record of the Supreme Court was made when out of the 1926 bar examinations appeared a scandal which involved confidential employees of the Court and three private secretaries of the Justices.

The Constitution of the Philippines continues the Supreme Court with a few changes. Under the Philippine Commonwealth, the Court will be known as the Supreme Court or the

⁵ Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (1917), p. 102.

Supreme Court of the Philippines. Its members may sit either *in banc* or in two divisions. No treaty or law may be declared unconstitutional without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of the Court. The conclusions of the Supreme Court in any case submitted to it according to the Constitution, shall be reached in consultation before the case is assigned to a Justice for the writing of the opinion of the Court. The Supreme Court is granted the rule-making power.

I was named to the Supreme Court by President Wilson in 1917 at the unheard-of age of thirty-five, which would be impossible under the Philippine Commonwealth because the Constitution fixes forty as the minimum age of eligibility, and seventy as the age of retirement. It was a non-political appointment, for the President never inquired as to my politics. I served on the Court until after the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, when I was the member with the longest service. During these eighteen years, in addition to my other official duties I prepared three thousand three hundred opinions, or an average of over one hundred and eighty a year. I take justifiable pride in that record. Speaking from the vantage-ground of my long experience on the Court, I sincerely believe that the members of the highest tribunal of the Philippines have given much more than value received in the fearless performance of arduous duties, and have been inspired solely by the desire to hand down correct decisions promptly and to serve the public well and efficiently.

THE PHILIPPINES BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT ⁶

From the beginning of American occupation, the Supreme Court of the United States has been the final court of review for Philippine cases, and will continue to exercise similar

⁶ See Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, secs. 2 (a), (13), 7 (6) in relation with sec. 7 of the Act of Congress of February 13, 1925.

authority during the existence of the Philippine Commonwealth. Jurisdiction by certiorari over final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands has been granted the Supreme Court of the United States in the following cases: (1) In which the Constitution or any statute or treaty of the United States is involved; (2) in which the value in controversy exceeds 50,000 pesos (\$25,000); and (3) in which the title or possession of real estate exceeding in value the sum of 50,000 pesos (\$25,000) is brought in question. This jurisdiction now will extend to a fourth class of cases, namely, those involving the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

As a review is not a matter of right but of sound judicial discretion, in practice very few cases gained the attention of the United States Supreme Court. Yet these few cases have resulted in the announcement of legal principles of paramount importance. Especially was this true in the early days when the status of the Philippine Islands was to be determined. In the future it will be interesting to note the trend of interpretative decisions of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

PHILIPPINE LAW ⁷

The Philippines is unique in that Philippine law is an amalgamation of practically all types of juridical thought. No less than four of the legal systems of the world, the civil law, the common law, the Mohammedan law, and the Malay customary law, have met in the Philippines and there blended.

Roman law as precisely developed by Justinian spread to Spain and by Spain was transplanted to the Philippines in codified form. The common law of the Englishmen went with them to the United States, was in that country expanded,

⁷ For a judicial exposition of the status of Philippine law, see the exhaustive decision in the case of *In re Shoop* (1920), 41 Phil. 213.

and followed the flag to the Philippines. The Koran, the great law book of Mohammedanism, was taken by the followers of Islam to Mindanao and Sulu in the Philippine group. And the native customs of the Filipinos more and more became law to be respected. In time a Philippine common law was discernible.

The codes as now existing in the Philippines consist of the following: the Civil Code of Spanish origin, but amended by later statutes; the Code of Commerce likewise Spanish-planned but pretty well superseded by more modern American-generated laws; the Revised Penal Code, consisting of the latest edition of the old Spanish Penal Code; the Code of Criminal Procedure, being General Orders No. 58 of the American Military Governor; the Code of Civil Procedure, enacted by the Philippine Commission and based on the laws of the States from which the various commissioners came, and the Revised Administrative Code, a codification of the local political laws. In addition, nearly five thousand laws have been enacted by the Philippine Commission and Legislature.

Aside from the codes and statutes, Mohammedan law is observed in some parts of the archipelago. The Moros have their own laws, partly customary and partly based on the Koran. The "Luwaran" (*luwaran* literally means selection) and the Sulu Code are the Mohammedan-inspired laws of most general application in Mindanao and Sulu. The authority of these Codes is held sacred, next to that of the Koran, and guides the *Datus* and *Pandits* (priests) in their decisions.

Two efforts have been made to bring to public knowledge the scattered customary laws of the Islands. The most recent attempt along this line resulted in something worth while. Backed by the American Council of Learned Societies, a committee on Indonesian customary law was formed to conduct researches. The services of Dr. F. D. Holleman, a

Dutch scholar of Java, were secured and he, after making use of the abundant material collected by Dr. H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines, made a preliminary report. From that starting point the investigation should go forward, but it is doubtful if it ever will.

Plans looking to the codification of Philippine law have proved but partially successful. The Compilation Committee headed by Commissioner Shuster prepared the Compilation of the Acts of the Philippine Commission. The more ambitious code committee of which Attorney Francisco Ortigas was the last chairman, labored long only to be able to produce the Administrative Code in completed form. The committee on the revision of the Penal Code, with Judge Anacleto Diaz as the chairman, eventually presented a Revised Penal Code which was approved. What the Philippines very much needs is a thoroughgoing clean-up and codification of the varied laws. This could readily be accomplished in two years to the marked advantage of the bar, the bench, and the public, and I know whereof I speak because of experience in this type of work.

Legal treatises in the Philippines are particularly abundant. Of the Spanish writers, Manresa's Commentaries on the Civil Code is constantly invoked. Aside from works in Spanish of this nature, law books in English are in more general use. Some local books of passing grade have been produced, but most of them consist of compilations or annotations of the Codes or of school outlines.

At the present time (1935) 4,420 men and 50 women are admitted to the Philippine bar. On the basis of a population of 14,000,000, this is one lawyer to every 3,000 inhabitants. Ordinarily this would not be considered a high percentage, but it is for the economically poor Philippines. Except for a few American law firms, the lawyers are all Filipinos.

Philippine law presents an interesting subject for comparative study in the laboratory of actual experience.

THE TORRENS AND CADASTRAL SYSTEMS⁸

The American Torrens system of confirming land titles, as introduced in South Australia and as developed in the State of Massachusetts, has been reproduced in the Philippines. In addition, the Philippines has gone a step further by approving a cadastral law, which is a compulsory means of establishing titles.

What with old Spanish grants and vague possessory rights, the determination of the ownership of land was in a bad way. A bold effort to grapple with the problem of simplification of titles to land was needed. Hence, the implantation of the Torrens system.

The purpose of the Torrens system law was to encourage and assist owners of real estate in procuring the registry of property. It was intended to decree land titles that shall be final and indisputable. The advantages of increased land values and increased security would then follow as a matter of course.

Still not entirely satisfied, the Insular authorities devised a broader scheme which would literally make alleged owners of land prove their titles. What is known as the Cadastral Law was enacted by the Philippine Legislature.

The term *cadastre*, from which the term "cadastral" is derived, is of French origin, and is used to indicate both a survey of land and a judicial hearing. The purpose of the cadastral system is the same as the Torrens system—incontestability of title. Only where the Torrens system is permissive, the cadastral system is compulsory. The Government denominates a particular tract of land as a "cadastre" and it is surveyed. Notice is given that anyone claiming to own land within the boundaries of the designated tract must come

⁸ See Jorge B. Vargas and Anatalio C. Mañalac, *The Philippine Land Registration Law* (1931).

in and prove title. The judge conducts a hearing and speedily adjudicates titles.

The trouble is that the Government does not have the resources available to survey and approve land titles for the entire archipelago. At the rate the Government is proceeding, centuries will be needed to finish the job. Still, as far as the work has progressed, despite occasional complaints, it has proved of inestimable private and public value.

A GALAXY OF FILIPINO JURISTS: ARELLANO, TORRES,
MAPA, ARAULLO, VILLAMOR, AND AVANCEÑA ⁹

Many Filipinos have displayed unusual aptitude for the legal profession. In Spanish times it was about the only career open to ambitious young men, and in American times the lure of politics has been the magnet that has drawn the scions of the leading families to the law. Six representatives of the best in Philippine culture who had particularly notable careers on the Supreme Bench were Cayetano S. Arellano, first Chief Justice under the American administration; Florentino Torres, senior Associate Justice; Victorino Mapa, second Chief Justice; Manuel Araullo, third Chief Justice; Ignacio Villamor, Associate Justice, and Ramon Avanceña, present Chief Justice.

I was fortunate in being a member of the Supreme Court during a period when I could become intimately acquainted with all the Filipinos who have served on the Court. Arellano, Torres, and Mapa, the original triumvirate of Filipino mentality, were still there when I took my oath of office. Not long after, another triumvirate of equal rank, consisting of

⁹ See the memorial addresses delivered on the occasion of the deaths of Mr. Chief Justice Cayetano S. Arellano, Mr. Chief Justice Manuel Araullo, Mr. Chief Justice Victorino Mapa, Mr. Justice Florentino Torres, and Mr. Justice Ignacio Villamor, which evidence the universal esteem in which they were held, found in Vol. 41 Phil. Rep. (Arellano); 46 Phil. Rep. (Araullo); 49 Phil. Rep. (Mapa and Torres), and 56 Phil. Rep. (Villamor).

Araullo, Avanceña, and Villamor, came to join us. With Avanceña and Villamor I had also served in the Attorney-General's office, and with Villamor a second time in the University of the Philippines. I treasure deeply my close association with these fine gentlemen.

When the Supreme Court was organized in the early days of American occupation, a splendid choice was made when Cayetano S. Arellano, Florentino Torres, and Victorino Mapa were named to the Court. All had acquired valuable legal experience under the Spanish régime. Arellano was already recognized as the Islands' most eminent lawyer and jurist. Torres and Mapa, the first in Manila and the second in Iloilo, did not enjoy quite the same prestige as Arellano, but nevertheless were highly esteemed. The elevation of Araullo, Avanceña, and Villamor to the Court was a logical sequence to the records that they had made in other responsible positions. All six, it may be observed, were devout Christians, all were men of spotless integrity, and all were lawyers of national renown.

Cayetano S. Arellano was the first Chief Justice in time and rank in the Philippines. He helped greatly in establishing the American administration in the Islands. Thereafter for nearly twenty years, during the formative period of Philippine jurisprudence, he presided over the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice was particularly strong in canon law and civil law. His decisions were so luminous and convincing that it is still customary for lawyers, in citing one of his decisions, to stress the point that it was written by Mr. Chief Justice Arellano. In addition, the Chief Justice was an erudite scholar, a cultured gentleman, and a charming conversationalist. I can never forget his kindness and tact when I came on the Court to shock the older members with my heretical views. Never a chiding word came from the venerable President of the Court. Mr. Chief Justice Arellano's place is secure in Philippine jurisprudence and history.

Florentino Torres was of a different mold than his *confrère* Arellano. Torres was a fine figure of a man, robust and independent. It did one good to see him walking with vigorous stride through the court corridors. In disposing of court work he was similarly active and in deliberation was assertive and scornful of hypocrisy in all its forms. Yet always a gentleman. I was assigned to the Division over which Mr. Justice Torres presided. He spoke only Spanish and my Spanish was of the worst. But the Justice tactfully helped me bridge the gaps until we were able to understand each other. Then in the sunset of his life came disappointment when another was preferred for the Chief Justiceship made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Chief Justice Arellano. Again that same display of self-respect when Florentino Torres himself resigned in silent protest. Independent to the last.

Victorino Mapa, the third of the original constellation of Filipino jurists, was in turn of a different character from the other two. He had not the vigorous health of Torres, and handicapped by a weak body was physically unable to turn out many decisions. His decisions in form and substance also contrasted sharply with those of Mr. Chief Justice Arellano. Where the opinions of Arellano reflected Spanish breadth, Mapa's were more American in trend and were conspicuous by their brevity and logic. It is generally considered that Mr. Chief Justice Mapa had the finest legal mind on the Court. His opinion was the last word on any subject. Invariably such an opinion also reflected intense patriotism. This characteristic Associate Justice Mapa displayed when he withdrew from congenial duties on the Supreme Court to become Secretary of Justice. Reward came to him when he was returned to the Supreme Court as its Chief Justice. I like to think of a remark made by Mr. Chief Justice Mapa which came to me subsequent to his death. After complimenting me, he added, "If all Americans had been like Malcolm, there would be no demand for independence." To which I would

like to answer, "If all Filipinos had been like Mapa, independence could have been granted without any fear of the consequences."

Manuel Araullo was educated in Spain and as a result reflected the best Spanish traditions. He was Judge of First Instance and Chairman of the Code Committee before coming to the Supreme Court. There he labored diligently and efficiently. Keenly sensitive to attempts at influence, he repeatedly gave evidence of his scorn of such ill-advised moves. Keenly jealous of judicial prestige, he defended the courts valiantly against all intrusion. When the Mayor of Manila flouted the order of the Supreme Court, Araullo it was who stood for drastic action. When the Legislature passed the judiciary lottery law, and I first called the case for discussion before the Court, Araullo it was who alone stood with me in holding that the law was invalid. Great was his indignation when colleagues then present would not accept his views. Yet again he could be as tender as a child, and was especially tolerant of the escapades of youth. Manuel Araullo was a just judge.

Ignacio Villamor's versatility was displayed in many fields. Successively he was a Judge of First Instance, the Attorney-General, the first Filipino Executive Secretary, the first Filipino President of the University of the Philippines, the first Filipino President of the Census, and an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Always he found time for scholastic research and was able to contribute greatly to Philippine literature. Justice Villamor's two predominant qualities were his industry and his kind-heartedness. His Ilocano ancestry seemed to give him the desire for work that knew no end. His inability to say "no" handicapped him for the performance of executive duties, but endeared him to countless persons, including myself, who were the recipients of his benefactions.

Arellano, Torres, Mapa, Araullo, and Villamor are gone.

Providentially the traditions of their honorable lives are being capably carried on by Ramon Avanceña, the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. He is their worthy successor, the trustee of their bequests of worthy names and worthy judicial records. Ramon Avanceña's training as Judge of First Instance, Attorney-General, and Associate Justice well equip him for the position he holds. The same as his predecessors, he is invariably the courteous gentleman. He is more like Mapa than any of the others, being small in stature, and in method being concise and logical in expression. But Chief Justice Avanceña possesses one quality which was partially lacking in the other Filipino jurists. He has executive ability. His other dominant qualities are courage and modesty. In one sensational case it became his duty as a judge to vote for imprisonment for a person with whom he was closely connected by marriage ties; but he performed that disagreeable duty without a thought of the consequences to himself. It is also told of him that when offered the position of Attorney-General he wished to decline, doubting his ability to fill the position, and was only convinced when it was shown him that it was his duty to do so. The Supreme Court of the Philippines under the Philippine Commonwealth will be in good hands if left to the guidance of Mr. Chief Justice Avanceña.

Cayetano S. Arellano, the gentleman, the jurist; Florentino Torres, the vigorous, the worker; Victorino Mapa, the logician, the patriot; Manuel Araullo, the independent, the just; Ignacio Villamor, the kind-hearted, the industrious—May they rest in peace. Ramon Avanceña, the modest, the executive—May he be granted many more years in which to labor for the good of his people. All were my companions and my friends.

CHAPTER XII

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

MANILA, THE CAPITAL AND METROPOLIS ¹

MANILA is the capital, metropolis, commercial center, and most important city of the Philippine group. It has been aptly called "The Pearl of the Orient." In reality Manila is three cities in one—the original Walled City surrounded by the old moat, which has been converted into the municipal golf links, the Tondo quarter with its slums and teeming population, and the modern city with its beautiful residential districts, busy commercial life, fine parks and boulevards, and splendid government buildings. Manila, more than any other great city, presents a scene of vivid contrasts, the old and the new side by side—here East meets West.

Manila is situated on the shore of Manila Bay. It faces to the west and looks out on the Cavite Naval Station and the island fortress of Corregidor, with the Mariveles Mountains in the background. To the east are low, rolling hills, blue and hazy in the distance. The city proper lies on a flat plain which straddles the Pasig River. The suburbs crowd out into the foothills to provide homes for city residents.

Three bridges, the Jones Bridge, the Santa Cruz Bridge, and the Ayala Bridge with its new addition, span the Pasig River and connect North and South Manila. The magnificent Jones Bridge is a monument to that sympathetic friend of the Filipinos, the late Congressman William Atkinson Jones, the sponsor of the Organic Act for the Philippines which bears

¹ Section read by Hon. Juan Posadas, Mayor of the City of Manila. See Lawrence Benton, *Port of Manila Year Book for 1934*.

his name. Formerly the principal shopping street was the Escolta, a short and crooked street paralleling the Pasig River on its north bank. It is still an important artery of commerce, but now rivaling it in popular favor is Rizal Avenue, a broad thoroughfare starting close to the Santa Cruz Bridge and running due north. The Chinese quarter is the district of Binondo, and its chief business street is *Calle* Rosario. But the Chinese merchants, in their little shops on Rosario, have fallen on evil days due to the keen competition offered by the Japanese on Rizal Avenue.

From the waterfront protrude the piers, including Pier 7, one of the world's largest and finest. The Luneta, long famous as a park and promenade, borders Manila Bay to the piers. Dewey Boulevard winds along the bay front from the south until it debouches into the Luneta; the boulevard is popular of late afternoons with motorists and pedestrians. Set back a little from the bay and overlooking the Luneta is the popular Manila Hotel; also the Army and Navy Club, the Elks Club, and the University Club.

One of the most modern streets is Taft Avenue. Starting near the new Post Office Building and the Metropolitan Theater, the Avenue named after the first Civil Governor winds its way past the grand Legislative Building, the Philippine Normal School, *El Casino Español* (The Spanish Casino), the clubhouse of the Philippine Columbian Association, the Philippine General Hospital, the Philippine Women's University, and De la Salle College, on out to the Pasay residential district.

Manila, it was said, is the capital of the Philippines. Ever since its capture by the Spanish forces, Manila has been the seat of the central government. The government offices are scattered throughout the city, but a magnificent government center is planned to face the Luneta.

It was also observed that Manila is the largest city in the Islands. Its population is midway between the three hundred

thousand and the four hundred thousand mark. Moreover, Manila's is a cosmopolitan population. Filipinos, of course, predominate, but along with them are Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Americans.

It was finally stated that Manila is the commercial center of the archipelago. The city, because of its advantageous situation and natural advantages, properly occupies this position. The chief port of entry of the Philippines, to its customs house come the products of foreign nations and from its piers are sent out the exports of the Islands. Transportation in the city is furnished by the Manila Electric Company, popularly known as Meralco, motor-busses, and horse-drawn vehicles. Starting from the city on land are various bus lines and the Manila Railroad, running north and south. Radiating from Manila are the great interoceanic steamship companies and the coastwise trade. In the city itself are found banks, importing and exporting firms, manufacturing establishments, and wholesale and retail merchants.

Whatever the political future of Manila may be, it is bound to continue to be a great shipping and business center. It cannot help but be so, situated as it is at the crossroads of the ocean's steamship lines and close as it is to the Orient's storehouse of wealth. No longer is Manila a straggling, sleepy town with a general air of *mañana* about its quiet streets. On the contrary, it is a city full of stir and bustle of money-grubbing enterprises.

Manila contains much of historic interest. Above all, it is a city of churches. In the Walled City are found the San Augustin Church, probably the oldest building in the Islands; the Manila Cathedral, the most imposing church edifice; and the St. Ignatius Church of the Jesuits, particularly noteworthy because of the beautiful wood-carvings made by Filipino artisans. Facing acacia-lined *Calle* Isaac Peral in the fashionable Ermita district is the Cathedral of St. Mary and

St. John of the Episcopal Church, a dominating and commodious structure. Beautiful homes are found in all parts of the metropolitan area.

At night Manila is a city of bright lights and equally bright gayety. Possibly not as lively as Shanghai, it nevertheless offers suitable consolation for jaded nerves. The theaters are modern and comfortable, the restaurants never close, and the cabarets are made pleasurable by the dancing feet of the *bailarinas* (dancing girls). And if you crave more excitement, there is La Loma, the Hell's Kitchen of Manila and the rendezvous of the gangsters.

Manila is governed by a Mayor and a Municipal Board. The Mayor is appointed for a three-year term; the members of the Municipal Board are elected for similar terms by the sovereign people. Unfortunately, his Honor's idea of efficiency and the Municipal Board's concept of the same seldom agree. Manila's populace is constantly being entertained by these family quarrels.

Although I have revised Manila's laws on no less than three occasions, I will confine comment to one feature of Manila's government, which has been much admired. Traffic is well regulated by the Manila police. Out in torrential rains or standing in a tropical sun, Fatty Acosta at the foot of the Jones Bridge, typical of the traffic squad, keeps bewildered lady motorists and pesky *carromata* drivers moving, and does so ever smiling.

Before closing this sketch of Manila, I wish I could bring to paper the names of all the men and women who have given spice and flavor to Manila life. Citizen Gitt lawing in the courts, Deacon Prautch, enemy of usurers, Colonel Joseph Napoleon, etc. Wolfson, the genial lawyer of many names—what memories cluster about their picturesque careers! But two I will have to tell you about: Mayor Brown and Dr. Dominador Gomez.

Mayor Brown was not really the Mayor of Manila. I

think his first name was William, but everyone called him Mayor. He lived in an old Spanish house close to the Luneta. What his business was, no one seemed to know. Once he was mixed up in a police investigation. Most likely he contracted for the Army. A portly man, he entertained, and when I say entertained, I mean in the superlative. Mayor Brown was the unofficial welcomer and dispenser of good cheer for Manila.

A garish figure was Dr. Dominador Gomez, with his closely buttoned coat (*cerrada*), a typically Gomesque hat perched precariously on his head, assiduously waving a *pay-pay* (fan). More Spanish than Filipino by blood and appearance, he was yet able to hold the people of Tondo in the palm of his hand. His oratory soared to Olympian heights. Proud of his strength, he enjoyed a test of muscle, elbows on table and hand to hand. Always in hot water. Elected to the first Philippine Assembly, that body refused to seat him. Continually pestered by the police, usually he found a legal loophole through which to squeeze. Had Dr. Gomez put his undeniable talents to better use, he would have been a great man. As it was he was a lovable rascal whom you could not detest for long.

The old Manila is passing but the new Manila has its compensations.

BAGUIO, THE SUMMER CAPITAL ²

In July, 1909, a young attorney in the Bureau of Justice, I was told by the Governor-General, "Proceed to Baguio and organize a city." Just that and nothing more.

I arrived in Baguio via the slow and unperturbed Manila and Dagupan Railroad, mule back, and Stanley steam stage.

² Section read by Major E. Speth, U. S. A. Rtd., Acting Mayor of the City of Baguio. See Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, Ch. xvii, and Charles G. Reade, *Town Planning in the Philippines* (1928), being a survey of Baguio by the expert on town planning of the Federated Malay States.

It was the rainy season. As I splashed through the water and slipped in the red mud, my imagination was not spurred to action. But I had been ordered to incorporate a city, and there was nothing to do but incorporate it. Fortunately Burnham, the famous Chicago architect, had laid out a worthy plan for Baguio development. And there was William M. Haube, hard-headed district engineer, to advise me. A book on highway construction digested, officials and citizens consulted, and optimism recaptured, I was able to see the Baguio of the future, a city of distances, a city of homes, a health Mecca for the Orient, a second capital of the Philippines.

I was ready to report. The Philippine Commission approved my Baguio Charter. A new city, the City of Baguio, was on the map.

The City of Baguio is one of the two chartered cities in the Philippines, is the summer capital of the Philippines, and is a famous mountain resort. Also, as this is written, Baguio is the most prosperous place in the Philippines, which means that it is one of the most prosperous places in the world.

Baguio was known to the Spaniards, but was then little more than a name; and this name not at all complimentary, since Baguio signifies storm. On the coming of the Americans, Baguio was found to be nothing but a small Igorot *ranchería*. At first a simple form of municipal government was adopted for Baguio, and it became a township. This type of government continued until the Baguio Charter was approved, to take effect on the first day of September, 1909.

After American occupation, it was fortunate for Baguio that two members of the Philippine Commission, Dean C. Worcester and William H. Taft, became its champions. The anecdote is classical of how Taft, in search of health, gave heed to Worcester's suggestion, and having arrived in Baguio and having found Baguio to be all that was claimed for it, cabled Secretary of War Root at Washington, "Stood trip well, rode horseback to 5,000 feet altitude." Root, having a

picture of Taft's three hundred pounds, replied, "How is horse." To Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes also goes credit for insisting on the improvement of Baguio and for furnishing the inspiration for its incorporation as a city. In the beginning, not overly popular with the Filipinos, their attitude has gradually changed, and leaders, like President Manuel L. Quezon, now have homes in Baguio and spend a part of their time there.

On June 1, 1903, the Philippine Commission passed a resolution in which it was declared to be the policy of the Government to make Baguio the summer capital of the archipelago. In Governor-General Forbes' time this was in fact done, and a considerable portion of the government personnel was moved bodily to Baguio during the hot season. For their use Government Center was erected and cottages provided. This policy has not been continued, except that the Supreme Court ordinarily holds sessions in Baguio during April and May of each year, and that the teachers make their annual trek to the Baguio Teachers' Camp.

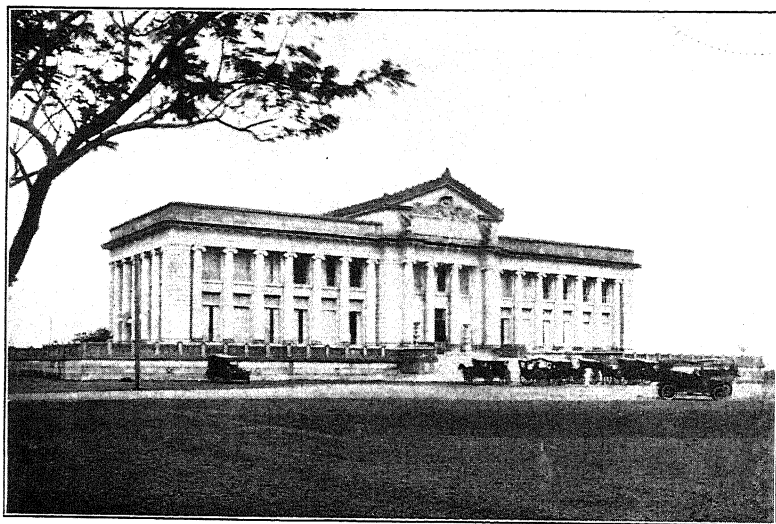
When it was thought to open Baguio to traffic, an Army engineer was consulted who reported that a road could be built within six months at a cost of 150,000 pesos (\$75,000). But when finished, the Benguet Road, now known as Kennon Road, had taken three years to complete and had cost 6,000,000 pesos (\$3,000,000). Aside from the criticism involved because of its cost, Kennon Road, now a two-way road, is admitted to be a triumph of engineering skill and highway maintenance. Winding from the rice- and sugar-growing central plain of Luzon through narrow canyons, and requiring horseshoe curves to make the grades, it is considered one of the finest mountain roads in the world. Two additional means of access to Baguio, also scenically worth while, were later provided with the completion of the Naguilian trail and the road from Bontoc.

The City of Baguio is in the center of a wide rolling plateau



THE MANSION HOUSE, BAGUIO

Temporarily the home of the United States High Commissioner to the Commonwealth of the Philippines.



THE PROVINCIAL CAPITOL OF PANGASINAN

In the foreground may be seen the horse-drawn vehicles called *carromatas*.

surrounded with towering peaks covered with virgin pine forests. The marvel of it all is that such a place with all the advantages of the temperate zone is found in the tropics. In Baguio is located Camp John Hay, which is a post of the United States Army and a wonderful piece of landscape gardening.

Being over five thousand feet above sea level, the climate of Baguio is cool and the air invigorating. What a godsend Baguio is when during the hot season the lowlands wilt with the heat! Not so pleasant are the torrential rains which, during the rainy season, flood the hills. It is then a Baguio true to its name. Baguio holds a world record for rainfall.

Baguio has been and is a well-known mining center. Two of the most profitable mines in the world, Benguet Consolidated and Balatoc, are located nearby. Other mining properties are being developed and are in the producing stage. Baguio has enjoyed a mildly exciting gold boom.

Baguio has a modified city manager form of government. From the standpoint of efficiency and financial stability, it is the best governed municipality in the Philippines. Local representation is provided by two elective members of the City Council and by an advisory council of Igorots. Good roads and improvements of various kinds have been obtained by making use of special assessments. Speculation in land values has been avoided by requiring that lots sold by the Government have houses erected upon them within stipulated periods of time. The City's proud boast is that it has no unsightly monuments or billboards, and that it tolerates no cockpits, dance-halls, or red-light district.

Baguio has been as fortunate in the men who have unwaveringly supported the development of the mountain city as in the excellence of its form of government. The commanding officers of Camp John Hay, men like Captain M. R. Hilgard and Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Garfinkel, have been enthusiastic supporters of all movements looking to the

betterment of Baguio. The Mayors of Baguio have combined the technical training of the engineer with the skill of the efficiency expert. Mayor E. J. Halsema, on the job since 1920, has not been content to be a routine desk-holder, and the results of his initiative, energy, and competence are permanently embodied in the public improvements of Baguio.

In 1934, exactly twenty-five years after Baguio was made a city, I came again to Baguio to prepare the city ordinances for enactment as the Revised Ordinances of the City of Baguio. But what a Rip Van Winkle change had taken place. Now I could arrive by a modern train and comfortable bus of the Manila Railroad Company; or, if I preferred, by automobile over excellent roads; or if too slow, by air-line.

Baguio had more than fulfilled a dream. Splendidly situated; bountifully laden with nature's gifts; miles of the finest metalled and asphalted roads to be found anywhere; cosmopolitan; high ranking officials, beginning with his Excellency, the Chief Executive; soldiers, American and Igorot, from Camp John Hay; Filipino cadets in gaudy uniforms from the Philippine Constabulary Academy; Igorot lads and lassies, short and sturdy, with bare shanks, come to market; miners in from the hills following the golden rainbow or suddenly grown rich; Chinese merchants; Japanese gardeners; Filipino teachers; American tourists. All attracted by the climate of Baguio. And that climate of clean, bracing, life-giving air flowing over the verdant forests of pine. That is Baguio!

CEBU, THE HISTORIC ³

From the historical viewpoint, Cebu is one of the most interesting places in the archipelago. You will recall that it was at Cebu that Magellan landed on his epochal voyage in

³ Section read by Hon. Fructuoso Ramos, Municipal President of Cebu, and Professor Julio E. Pongan of the Cebu branch of the University of the Philippines.

1521. It was at Cebu, according to the Chevalier Pigafetta, the worthy chronicler of Magellan's expedition, that the latter presented the image of the *Santo Niño* (Holy Child) to the Cebuano queen. It was at Cebu that Legaspi set up the first government of Spain in 1565. It was at Cebu that San Carlos College, the first convent and school in the Philippines, was founded. Cebu was the first Christian settlement in the Orient.

Among the ancient relics of Spanish occupation which are found in Cebu are the Cross of Magellan, and the Holy Image of the Child Jesus. Colon, the oldest street constructed during the Spanish régime, still exists in the City. Verily Cebu is rich in historical associations and military traditions.

The citizens of Cebu would naturally assert that their city has more than historical sidelights to commend it, and they would be right. Cebu is the second largest city of the Islands, claiming to have nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants. Its principal rival for commercial supremacy in the Southern Islands is Iloilo, one of the leading sugar ports of the Philippines. Cebu gains additional fame by being the home of Hon. Sergio Osmeña, distinguished statesman of his native land.

ZAMBOANGA, THE BEAUTIFUL ⁴

The very name Zamboanga carries a lilt in its easy flowing syllables. "O the monkeys have no tails in Zamboanga" goes the impertinent jazz ditty. But the Spaniards caught more perfectly the charm of the place. They had a song of Zamboanga which began like this:

No te vayas, no te vayas de Zamboanga,
Que me puedes, que me puedes olvidar;

⁴ Section read by Hon. Antonio Toribio, Municipal President of Zamboanga. See John R. White, *Bullets and Bolos* (1928), pp. 192, 193.

No te vayas, no te vayas, si me dejas
Que yo sin ti no puedo estar.

Do not leave, oh, do not leave fair Zamboanga,
Forget me not, forget me not, my dear;
Do not leave, oh, do not leave, for if you leave me
E'en Zamboanga will be sad and drear.

Zamboanga is without question the most beautiful city in the Philippines; that is, if Baguio be cancelled from the list; but Baguio is a temperate-zone city placed by Providence in the tropics, while Zamboanga is of the tropics. Travellers who have wandered all over the seven seas say that there is no other place in this mundane world which compares with Zamboanga in interest or in beauty. They are right.

Many times going back and forth from the States I have welcomed the stop at the friendly oasis of Honolulu, Hawaii. Thrice have I passed through the South Seas to Thursday Island, to Raratonga in the Cook Islands, to Papeete in Tahiti, to Suva in the Fiji Islands, and to Pango Pango in Samoa. Twice have I journeyed to the East Indies, to Macasser and Menado in the Celebes, to Sandakan in Borneo, to Palembang in Sumatra, to the Garoet region in Java, and to Bali. Zamboanga equals any of these earthly paradises. The visitor who finds Manila tropically disappointing cannot help but be enchanted with entrancing Zamboanga.

Across the opalescent waters slip the Moro vintas with painted sails like giant butterflies. The shore as far as you can see is lined with coconut palms in which nestle little Moro villages propped up over the water. A wharf pokes its nose impudently out from an old Spanish town. Lies before you Zamboanga, quaint and picturesque, gleaming beneath her palm and almond trees—the Zamboanga which an American journalist from Los Angeles called “an orchid blossom on the edge of a star-splashed, tropic sea.” A stage-setting for a light opera. The kind of tropical town you see in the movies.

More prosaically described, Zamboanga is a charming little city of the southern group, beautifully situated on the Island of Mindanao. In no other town in the archipelago can a greater or more interesting mixture of races be seen. The Moro element is noticeable, and among the Moros are seen the sea gypsies and the long-haired and fancifully dressed Yacans. Plaza Pershing, Pasonanca Park, the Cutch Factory or mangrove-bark-extracting factory for tanning or dyeing, and the Worcester Desiccated Coconut Factory are places of interest. Although only four degrees above the equator, Zamboanga is blessed with cooling breezes and owing to an equable rainfall and freedom from typhoons is one of the garden spots of the Philippines.

PAGSANJAN, THE PROGRESSIVE⁵

Manila is not the Philippines. Nor is Manila plus Baguio, plus Cebu, plus Iloilo, plus Zamboanga, the Philippines. Scattered over the Islands are hundreds of municipalities. In them live the people who make up the backbone of the country.

The *poblacion* (the town proper) contains the municipal building, the church, the stores, and a few of the more substantial houses. The town itself covers many miles with *barrios* (villages) jutting into one another. These municipalities are of five classes, determined by average annual income. The chief municipal officers are *el Presidente* (the President), the vice president, the treasurer, the secretary, and the councilors. The officer lowest in rank but possessing considerable authority because coming in direct contact with the people is the lieutenant of *barrio*. He is commonly referred to as *teniente*, to use the Spanish word, or *pangulo*, to use the term of the dialect.

⁵ Read by Mr. Godofredo Rivera of Pagsanjan, a well-known columnist of the Manila press. See Jose P. Laurel, *Local Government in the Philippines* (1926).

I would like to tell you of a typical Filipino community. It is hard to make a choice. Cainta and Taytay in Rizal Province are exceptional on account of the dark skin of the natives, indicating an Indian strain brought in by Sepoys of the British Army which occupied this region in 1762. I might continue in this line indefinitely, bringing out the particular qualities of numerous towns. After all, why not select Pagsanjan, a scenic spot in La Laguna Province, rich in tradition and symbolic of progress?

Pagsanjan is about two hours from Manila by good automobile road. For much of the distance the car passes along sugar-cane- and coconut-palm-lined roads. Arrived at Pagsanjan, one finds a clean little city in which the residents take particular pride.

You inquire why the fraternal attitude of the people toward their town in contrast with the lack of appreciation of people in other towns, and one reason given you is the current belief that Pagsanjan was founded by the Japanese. You are also informed of the Chinese ancestry of the inhabitants. Whether these beliefs be true or not, at least Japanese and Chinese features are to be seen everywhere.

Due to nationality or otherwise, Pagsanjan has long stood for progress in every line. Particularly are the people extraordinarily devoted to education. Many of Pagsanjan's ambitious sons and daughters have gone forth to acquire educations in Philippine and American schools and to become worth-while citizens.

Pagsanjan is a tourist center. People come from afar to get the thrill of a lifetime as they gaze at the natural beauty of Pagsanjan Falls. This they do as the paddlers in their narrow and unstable *bancas* (canoes) thread the rocks and churning rapids perilously but safely.

The Pagsanjan Falls are enchanting. They find their proper setting in the surrounding hills. Nature's gifts have been well handed out to a people who appreciate them and

who with true Filipino hospitality make them available for strangers.

Here is to Pagsanjan, worthy to be chosen as typically evidencing all that is best in a Filipino community!

OCCIDENTAL NEGROS, THE SUGAR PROVINCE ⁶

The provinces in the Philippines correspond to counties in the United States. There are about fifty provinces in all. The elective officers in the regular provinces are the Provincial Governor and the two members of the Provincial Board, the three constituting the Provincial Board. The principal appointive officers are the provincial treasurer, the provincial assessor, the provincial auditor, the provincial *fiscal*, the district health officer, the district engineer, the superintendent of schools, and the secretary of the provincial board.

The foregoing paragraph makes uninteresting reading, but its inclusion is necessary as a sort of introduction to the description of a particular province. I presume every province has some claim to fame. At least Rizal does on account of its name, Cavite on account of fathering the Philippine Revolution, and Batangas on account of its superlative patriots. However, I would take you further south to the Visayas, to the wonderful Province of Occidental Negros.

The people of Occidental Negros are anything but commonplace. In revolutionary days they did not wait for the revolution proper to prosper, but daringly set up an independent government of their own. Came the sugar boom, and they took full advantage of it to develop speedy prosperity in the province. Even the women-folk are not ordinary, for they have won names for themselves as being particularly *simpatica*. (The Spanish word does not translate fully into English as "congenial.")

Possibly the trait most characteristic of the good people

⁶ Section read by Senator Isaac Lacson of Occidental Negros.

of Negros is their inexhaustible hospitality. The land is not divided into small tracts as in other regions. The *haciendas* (plantations) run for miles. On these *haciendas* the wealthy owners live in state. Automobiles (the province has a greater number of automobiles than any other province), diamonds, all the luxuries are demanded as necessities. Under such conditions the feudal lords are lavish in their entertainment. It is customary for champagne to flow like water. If you want to know Philippine hospitality in its most bountiful form, go to Occidental Negros.

The province has erected a capital building at Bacolod commensurate with its wealth. Not content with this, the province has provided a sumptuous mansion for its Governor. From the capital good roads radiate out to the sugar plantations. The homes of the people are generally well constructed.

Whether in the future we shall celebrate with Occidental Negros in its prosperity, or whether we shall condole with the province in its misery when the sugar bubble shall have burst, remains for someone wiser to say. But of the future the wealthy *hacenderos* rarely take account. They are content to live and live splendidly in the present.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICS ¹

ELECTIONS ²

A MODIFIED Australian ballot system is in use in the Philippines. The original election law was drafted by Attorney Thomas Cary Welch of the former Executive Bureau. Early in 1907 the law was enacted as Act No. 1582 by the Philippine Commission. The first election under this law was held on July 30, 1907, and included the choice of delegates to the newly provided Philippine Assembly. Repeatedly thereafter, the election law was amended and revamped in an earnest endeavor to attain the unattainable of a perfectly fair and clean election.

Elections are held every three years. Election boards are named by the various municipal councils and the selection of these inspectors and their apportionment between the political parties have caused endless disputes and have necessitated the intervention of the courts. The offices voted for are President, Vice President, Member of the National Assembly, Provincial Governor, two members of the Provincial Board, municipal president, municipal vice president, and a number of municipal councilors—quite a respectable list. The President and Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth are elected for a term of six years, while the other elective officials are chosen every three years.

The qualifications for voting are stringent. The method provided for the ascertainment of the popular will is also

¹ This chapter was read by former Senator Jose P. Laurel, one of the authors of the existing Election Law.

² See Jose P. Laurel, *The Election Law* (1931).

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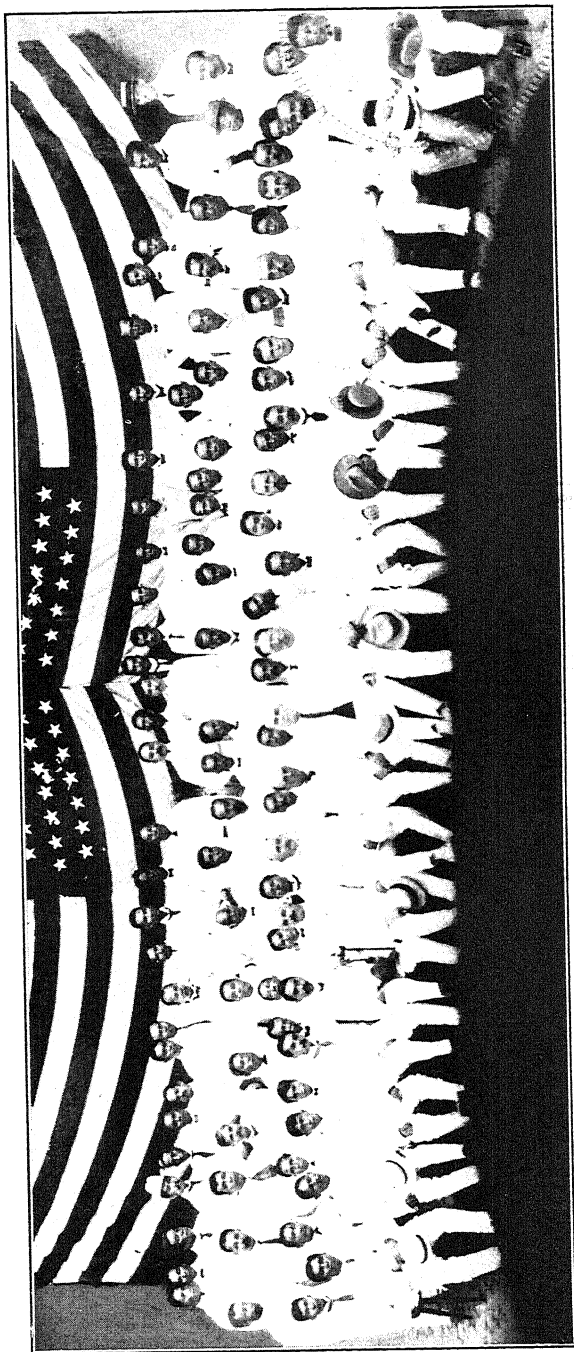
² See Jose P. Laurel, *The Election Law* (1931).

difficult of fulfilment. Instead either of voting machines being used or of the names of candidates being printed on the ballots, the elector merely having to make a mark to indicate his choice, in the Philippines the voters must prepare their ballots by writing the names of the candidates they desire to vote for. The perplexities attendant on sleuthing out the voter's intention, complicated by nearly indecipherable writing and wrong spelling, can easily be imagined.

Candidates are required to execute sworn certificates stating that they will not spend in their campaigns more than one-third of the salary attached to the office. This requirement constitutes but a slight barrier to the use of large campaign chests which have often had the effect of bankrupting candidates for office. The burden on the aspirants for public office is made even heavier by election contests. The prime cause of all this is the well-known Philippine trait of *amour propre* (*amor propio*, self-love), which leads candidates to make use of methods, legitimate and illegitimate, to win, and which with defeat does not permit them gracefully to congratulate their successful opponents. "To save face" is indispensable.

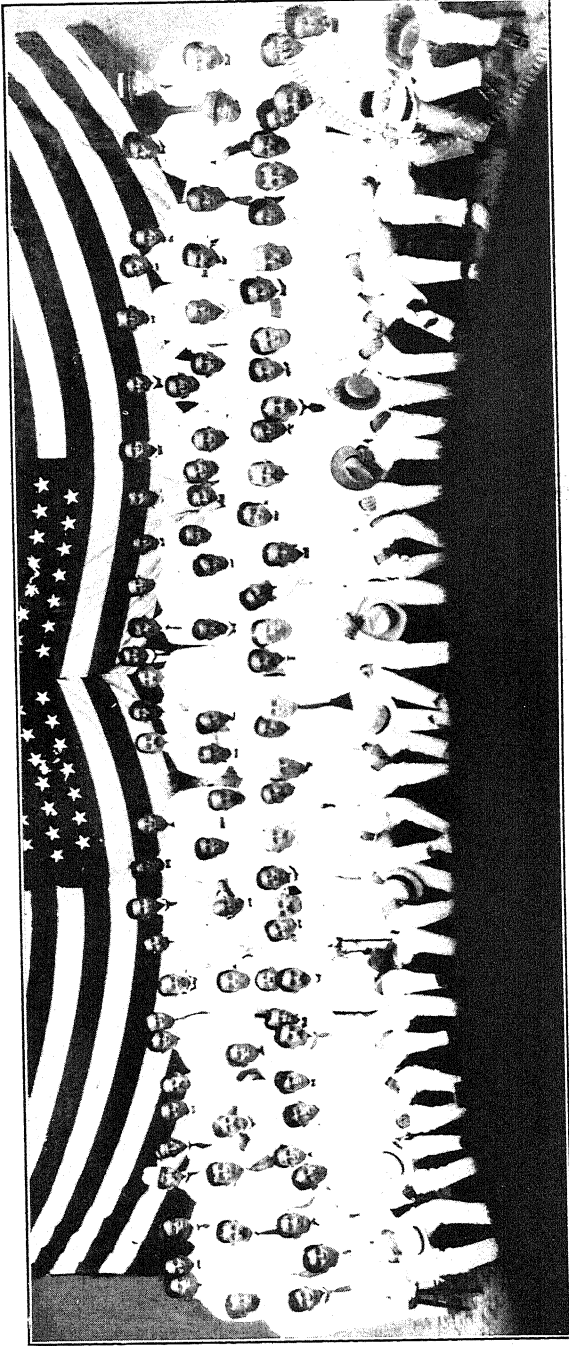
Up to the present there has been only male suffrage, and this strictly limited to certain classes. However, a possibility exists of Philippine women being enfranchised and granted electoral rights on equal terms with the male sex. This possibility is made dependent by the Constitution on the women being able to muster 300,000 affirmative votes in a plebiscite. How the intrusion of the feminists would affect elections remains to be seen. Some have argued that women voters will merely reflect the stand of their father confessors or their husbands, but I doubt the correctness of these observations. I look for women to be as independent in judgment as the men and to take an interest in social questions.

The number of persons who qualified as voters has steadily increased. Of the qualified electors fully ninety per cent have



THE FIRST PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

In the group will be noticed Secretary of War William H. Taft, Governor-General James F. Smith, Speaker Sergio Osmeña, Floor Leader Manuel L. Quezon, and members of the Philippine Commission and Philippine Assembly.



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generally voted. In the elections of 1934, 1,704,095 voters were registered and 1,344,557 actually cast their ballots. This is not a bad showing considering the onerous provisions of the Election Law.

A fair deduction is that Filipino voters have taken sufficient interest in elections. A further conclusion is that the Philippine electoral system in the main has proved successful.

PAST POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS ³

Two political parties in two distinct periods have enjoyed a monopoly of authority under the American administration in the Philippines. Prior to the election for the first Philippine Assembly in 1907, these being the years when legislation made it a criminal offense to advocate Philippine independence, the Federal Party was in power. From 1907 to 1935 without any interruption the *Nacionalista* Party was in power.

Even under the Revolutionary Government headed by General Aguinaldo, two groups existed. One was the *Irreconcilables*, the war party, which believed in independence at any cost, and the other was the *Pacificos*, the peace party, which desired the best government attainable without bloodshed. When the Filipino forces were dispersed, the radicals naturally went into eclipse and the conservatives were in favor. With the encouragement of the representatives of the American Government, the Federal Party was formed. The organizers of this party gave incalculable assistance to the government in pacifying the Islands and were suitably rewarded for their services with appointments to high posts. Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, brilliant scholar and publicist, was the most potent single figure in the party. He, together with Benito Legarda and Jose R. de Luzuriaga, was appointed to the Philippine Commission.

³ See Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics* (1926).

The *Federalistas* had advocated ultimate statehood in the American Union, but with the approach of the election in 1907 had to abandon this unpopular plank in their platform. The newly formed groups in favor of immediate independence which soon united to found the *Nacionalista* Party decisively defeated the Federal Party.

The *Federalistas* were succeeded by the *Progresistas*, who in turn became the *Democratas*. Each was forced to play the rôle of opposition to the *Nacionalistas*, who continuously remained the majority. When the split occurred in the ranks of the *Nacionalista* Party in 1922, the *Democratas* were afforded a golden opportunity to ride into power on a popular tide of dissatisfaction, but principally on account of lack of militant leadership, were merely able partially to take advantage of the situation. After the directorate of the *Democrata* Party was inveigled by the reunited *Nacionalista Consolidado* Party into forming a National Supreme Council, the *Democrata* Party abdicated its position as an effective party. In 1933-1934 the *Democrata* Party was dissolved as a national organization; one branch joined the Quezon *Antis* and the other branch the Osmeña *Pros*. Then a curious phenomenon occurred: the *Democratas* who, united, met with ignominious defeat, divided, were victorious. The *Democrata Antis* swept the Bicol region to the marked advantage of their newly acquired *Nacionalista Anti* brethren and the *Democrata Pros* helped in carrying Manila, Cebu, and Iloilo for their *Nacionalista Pro* cronies. To cap it all, three former *Democratas* were handed the principal positions in the Constitutional Convention, those of president, first vice president, and second vice president.

THE NACIONALISTA PARTY

The dominant political party in the Philippines has been the *Nacionalista Consolidado* Party. For nearly thirty years

it has had complete control of the elective part of the national government and nearly absolute control in the provincial and municipal governments. Moreover, during all this time it has recognized only two leaders, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon. From 1907 to 1922, Osmeña was the president of the party, and from 1922 to 1935 Quezon occupied this position.

Why?

Principles. The *Nacionalistas* were the most determined advocates of immediate independence for the Philippines.

Leadership. First in Osmeña and next in Quezon, the party possessed the two most virile and able Filipinos of the generation.

Organization. Power rested in the hands of one man aided by a few other men who used that power adroitly to build up a great political machine of office-holders and would-be office-holders.

Patronage. With Governors-General anxious to make records for American approval based on Filipino support, the spoils of public office were placed at the disposal of the party leaders and were distributed where they could be used to advantage.

Not that the *Nacionalistas* have not had their trials and tribulations. But these trials and tribulations came but rarely from a vigorous opposition; if necessary a too aggressive *Progresista* or *Democrata* could be bought off with a political plum. No, the trials and tribulations came from the rivalries of two vigorous and ambitious leaders in the party of the caliber of Osmeña and Quezon. In 1922 the inevitable happened, and they broke, Quezon to denounce Osmeña's dictatorship and to form a party of his own known as the *Colectivistas*, and Osmeña to remain with the old guard known as the *Unipersonalistas*. After the election, it was found that neither could organize the House of Representatives, and so in preference to joining the *Democratas*, they

licked their wounds and reunited the party. But this time the positions were reversed. Where before Osmeña was number 1, he was number 2, and where before Quezon was number 2, he was number 1. So all was apparent peace and happiness until Osmeña thought to bring back an independence law to the discomfiture of Quezon, who promptly maneuvered until he, Quezon, had defeated Osmeña's law, and had brought back an independence law himself. The *Nacionalistas* split wide open into the *Nacionalista Consolidados*, called the *Antis*, and the *Nacionalista Pro Independencia*, called the *Pros*. The *Antis* won in the 1934 elections. Quezon once more was in the saddle.

The name *Antis* had become even before the 1934 elections were over a misnomer, for in truth the *Antis* were *Pro* Tydings-McDuffie Independence Law. Also the *Antis* were made up of two divergent factions derived from the *Nacionalistas* and the *Democratas*. It was therefore advisable to dissolve the old *Nacionalista* Party, and what was left of the old *Democrata* Party, and to form a compact political group.

The two major political parties in the years 1933-1935 were the Nationalist Democratic Party and the *Nacionalista-Democrata Pro Independencia* Party; but a fusion of the parties is contemplated. Other parties or groups which should be mentioned are the National Socialist Party and the *anti-coalitionists* who supported the candidacy of General Emilio Aguinaldo for the Presidency of the Commonwealth in the 1935 election; the Republican Party which Bishop Gregorio Aglipay organized to advance his interests as a candidate for President; the Radical Party of Manila of Representative Alfonso E. Mendoza; the Facists headed by former Representative Miguel R. Cornejo, and the *Sakdalistas* and Communists. The latter two organizations are appropriately placed under "Public Order."

THE NATIONALIST-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The majority party has been the Nationalistic-Democratic Party. It was formally organized at a national convention of delegates held in Manila on August 18, 1934. The convention unanimously elected Manuel L. Quezon, President, and Quintin Paredes, First Vice President. It also approved a sixteen-point platform.

The hyphenated name Nationalist-Democratic furnishes an index to the origin of the new party. It was a coalition of *Nacionalista Antis* and *Democrata Antis*.

More than any other party, the Nationalist-Democratic Party can be said to be the successor of the *Nacionalista* Party. Quezon had been the President of that party and his followers had adhered to his leadership as an *Anti*, unwaveringly. Whatever traditions the grand old *Nacionalista Consolidado* Party had, passed to the Nationalist-Democratic Party as universal heir—and likewise the responsibilities of government.

The *Nacionalistas* in the past had a perennial issue of independence. This made them the radicals, legitimate successors to the *Irreconcilables* of war days. With the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, the independence issue is dead. The problems of the government are economic and must be faced by the administration. That means assumption of responsibility, and assumption of responsibility means conservatism. Just how effectively the party will meet the rising tide of economic unrest will determine its tenure of power.

THE NACIONALISTA-DEMOCRATA PRO INDEPENDENCIA
PARTY

The minority party has been the *Nacionalista-Democrata Pro Independencia*. It was organized on December 17, 1933, and the fusion of the *Nacionalista Pros* and the *Democrata Pros* was confirmed on June 16, 1935. Sergio Osmeña was

President, Gregorio Perfecto, First Vice President, and Manuel A. Roxas, Second Vice President.

When in 1933 the Congress of the United States passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill over the veto of the President, the Philippine Mission then in Washington rather expected to see the law accepted in the Philippines. To their disappointment, President Quezon negated the idea and a majority in the Philippine Legislature supported him. Promptly the members of the Philippine Mission with their sympathizers mobilized their forces to take the issue before the people. Their thunder was stolen when President Quezon negotiated a compromise independence law somewhat different from the one secured by the mission. But the *Pros* had gone too far to retreat, and so the new party was organized. In the 1934 elections it put up a game fight but was whipped by the *Antis*.

The *Nacionalista Pro Independencia* Party included a number of very able politicians. Sergio Osmeña was at the helm and brought to the position all the experience of a lifetime in Philippine politics. Gregorio Perfecto, next in authority in the party, was a former *Democrata* leader and a hard fighter. Manuel A. Roxas, the third of the triumvirate, was the former Speaker of the House of Representatives. He is considered even by his adversaries as the most brilliant member of the Legislature and the Constitutional Convention. I am happy that this is so. Manuel was the president of my first graduating class of the College of Law, University of the Philippines, and I am inordinately proud of his success.

The *Nacionalista-Democrata Pro Independencia* Party had an issue, or rather thought it had an issue. Night and day it vigorously advocated acceptance of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. The party lost that issue when President Quezon adroitly stole the show. The party then had to resort to personal attacks on Quezon leadership, vulnerable in spots but generally popular with the people. The *Pros* went down to defeat with that battle-cry. But the party with talent at its

command and with vigorous propulsion has infinite possibilities, particularly if it takes advantage of the situation to become radical in opinion.

THE POLITICO ⁴

The Filipino is a born politician. It has been said of him that he could give Tammany the aces in the pack and still win the game. The politician of politicians is President Manuel L. Quezon, who has repeatedly proved his right to the title of master politician, as he has outmaneuvered local adversaries and American Governors-General who proved themselves mere tyros in playing their hands, and has bested American representatives in Congress. The hole has never been so small that through it he could not squeeze to victory.

Just why the Filipinos should be good politicians no one has ever offered to explain. Certainly they possess natural talent which has been perfected by constant practice. Possibly this native aptitude for politics comes from the Oriental's predilection for intrigue, to which must be added an acquired blend of Spanish fire and audacity.

There are a variety of reasons why politics has come to have such a large place—some would add an unnecessarily large place—in the life of the people. In the first place, Philippine democracy is in its younger years. At such times the best brains are attracted to public office. Those whose activities in more normal years would be directed to agriculture and commerce are inevitably drawn into the maelstrom of politics. This phenomenon has been observed in the early history of other countries. It has been particularly evident in the development of self-government in the Philippines.

In the second place, the Philippine Government is in nature paternalistic. It is customary for the people to look to the Government not only for redress of grievances but for

⁴ *Politico* is the Spanish for "politician."

material assistance. Government positions are most desirable especially to white-collar-trained young men. Some of these have been requisitioned for the civil service, but others have had to use pull or influence to land jobs. Add to these two classes, the candidates, successful and unsuccessful for public office, and their leaders, and a respectable percentage of the population is included.

In the third place, the people look upon law as the noblest and highest of professions. This sentiment influences the scions of the best families to seek the title of *abogado* (lawyer). When these young men have concluded their legal studies and passed the bar examinations, they find the securing of cases and fees hard, and all too often impossible, problems. The result is a tendency to devote their attention to politics. Even those Filipino lawyers who have acquired passable practices are unable to resist the temptation to go into politics. Hardly a Filipino member of the bar can be named who either has not been a politician or is not a politician.

The methods used by Filipino politicians combine all the technique of America and add thereto local trimmings. The radio and aeroplane have been brought into play for campaign purposes. The more generally accepted style calls for public meetings with much speech-making and refreshments. As orators the Filipino politicians have no superiors and few peers. The voters have acquired a system of their own, and unabashed call upon the local politician for free legal advice, for financial handouts, and for the payment of taxes, and on election days expect and get free transportation.

Election issues have occasionally centered on principles. More often the questions simply reflect personalities. The candidate who speaks the language of the people, who is one of them, and who is a free spender is the successful politician.

That Filipino politicians here and there have grafted is beyond dispute. This graft ordinarily has either been glossed over by legal authorization or has been too insignificant in

nature to be challenged. However, elected officials in some instances have had to be removed and prosecuted for malfeasance in office. The finger of suspicion has pointed at others. But scandal in a large way has not broken over the heads of Filipino politicians.

It has been popular, especially for Americans, to lambast the Filipino politicians unmercifully. Some of these critics I have noted have failed to see the mote in their own eye in their desire to see the beam in their brother's eye, for included among them have been American office-holders. Personally I find no just cause to blame the Filipino for being ambitious and for taking an interest in the affairs of his country. All in all, the Filipino politician is a lovable individual, who in his way is a patriot and who within reason is seeking to do the right thing.

CHAPTER XIV

FINANCE ¹

THE PESO AND THE DOLLAR

SINCE 1903 the currency of the Philippines has been linked with the currency of the United States. This has meant that the Philippines has been on a gold standard when the United States has been on a gold standard. For better or worse the fate of the dollar has been the fate of the peso. The existing monetary system in the Philippines displaced the nondescript coins of fluctuating values which harassed everyone during the early days of American occupation. The system was well planned by Mr. Charles A. Conant and was established with the assistance of Dr. Edwin W. Kemmerer, both experts in public finance.

The unit of value in the Philippines is the Philippine peso, with a value equal to one-half of the American dollar. The circulating medium is mainly silver and paper. The coins in use are the peso, half peso, twenty-centavo piece, and ten-centavo piece, all of silver; five-centavo piece of nickel, and one-centavo piece of copper. The Philippine Mint coins this money for the Islands. Paper money is issued by the Philippine Commonwealth and by the Philippine National Bank and the Bank of the Philippine Islands.

Philippine currency is small in size and of artistic design. The convenience of the paper money of the Philippines is conspicuous when placed side by side with the bills of other countries, as for instance with those of bed-blanket dimensions

¹ The first six sections of this chapter were read by Hon. Vicente Carmona, Under Secretary of Finance. See W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (1928), Vol. I, Chap. VI.

which Hongkong formerly inflicted on its residents. The new American paper money is exactly the same size as the Philippine paper medium.

In 1928 when the United States Treasury Department was contemplating the adoption for the United States of a paper currency of the same size and design as that of the Philippines, the Secretary of the Treasury asked the Philippine Government to change the designs and colors of the Philippine currency in order that the latter might not be mistaken for the new small-sized paper currency of the United States. This request amused then Governor-General Stimson, because Secretary of Finance Miguel Unson broaching the matter with him jokingly remarked that the United States Government in order to suit its purpose, not content with imitating the Philippine paper currency, had the audacity to ask the Philippine Government to change the designs and colors of its paper currency.

On December 31, 1934, the total net circulation of Philippine currency was approximately 100,000,000 pesos, (\$50,000,000). By way of guaranty for this currency there was an exchange standard fund of 46,000,000 pesos (\$23,000,000) which was 19,000,000 pesos (\$9,500,000) in excess of legal maximum requirements.² The treasury certificates were backed peso for peso by American currency in the amount of 74,000,000 pesos (\$37,000,000) held in the Federal Treasury and silver pesos and half pesos in the amount of 17,000,000 pesos (\$8,500,000) held in the Philippine Treasury vault.

The Philippine peso has been maintained at a parity with the American dollar, except during the years 1919-1921 when the peso depreciated as much as sixteen per cent.

When the American dollar was devaluated in 1934, the Philippine Government had its gold standard and treasury

² Reduced to 12,000,000 pesos (\$6,000,000) as of January 1, 1936, when the National Assembly authorized the transfer of money from the Exchange Standard Fund to redeem Manila Railroad Company bonds.

certificate funds on deposit in member banks of the Federal Reserve System. The American Government made a large profit out of this transaction. The interesting question was if the Philippine Government would be allowed a gain at the same ratio. The answer came in an Act initiated by United States Treasury officials and approved by the Congress which credited the Philippines with the profits resulting from the increased gold value of its deposits. In cold figures the Philippine Currency Refund Act credited the Philippine Government with 47,725,501 pesos and 56 centavos (\$23,862,750.-78), but did not appropriate this amount. A companion Act of Congress authorized the United States Treasury to accept Philippine deposits and to pay a small interest thereon.

The creation of an independent Philippine currency to be controlled by a new central bank has been advocated. Some banks in Manila are against the idea as are likewise business interests. The Government of the Philippine Commonwealth will do well to think twice and thrice before tampering with its monetary system. Otherwise capital will flee the Philippines.

A BALANCED BUDGET

Profiting from past experience, the budget system was established in the Philippines before it was in the United States. A financial plan was annually prepared in the office of the Department of Finance by budgetary experts headed by an under-secretary. The proposed budget next passed the scrutiny of the Governor-General and the Council of State. The Governor-General submitted within ten days of the opening of the Legislature a budget of receipts and expenditures to be the basis of the general appropriation bill.

The practice in the Philippine Legislature was for the lower house to be the first to take up the budget. It heard the explanations offered by the Secretary of Finance or his representatives and called other officials into consultation. The

tendency was for the lower house to slash the budget extensively. When the budget came to the Senate, with the estimates prepared by the executive department and the bill as approved by the House of Representatives, it was customary for the upper house to arbitrate the differences between the executive and the lower house and to strike a happy medium.

The statement has often been made that the Philippine budget has always been balanced.³ This was not literally true. For instance, a consolidated statement of the Insular Auditor of operation of the general, special, and bond funds of the Central Government shows a minus difference between income and expenditures, or more boldly announced a deficit, of 6,167,130 pesos and 96 centavos (\$3,083,565.48) in 1930; a deficit of 8,858,642 pesos and 4 centavos (\$4,429,321.02) in 1931, and a deficit of 4,980,114 pesos and 97 centavos (\$2,490,057.48) in 1932. On the other hand, in 1933 the Government had a small surplus of 490,903 pesos and 95 centavos (\$245,451.97) and in 1934 a comfortable surplus of 7,955,162 pesos and 23 centavos (\$3,977,581.11). The figures will again show a balanced budget in 1935, the last year of American control, and should likewise in 1936, the first year of Filipino control. Few governments there are

³ The offices of the Insular Auditor and the Department of Finance hold somewhat different opinions on whether or not the budget has been balanced. A varying use of accounting terms may be the reason for these conflicting opinions. The text reflects to a certain extent the views of Insular Auditor Jones. Under Secretary Carmona states: "The Philippine Budget has always been balanced, that is, the current expenditures for a given year chargeable against the general fund never exceed the income for said year. The fact that the statement of the Insular Auditor for a year shows a minus difference between income and expenditures does not mean that the budget is not balanced. Such minus difference or deficit may be due to the following causes: (a) Amounts authorized for preceding year were actually expended for succeeding year; (b) Accumulated surplus of preceding years were intentionally appropriated for non-recurring expenditures to the advantage of the Government. For instance, when at the end of the year 1929 we found that we had a great surplus, we appropriated said surplus to redeem before maturity the Manila Port Works bonds in the sum of 12,000,000 pesos earning an interest of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Naturally the expenditures for 1931 in which year the payment of said bonds was made exceeded the income for that year."

which during these years could point with pride to the feat of spending less than they took in.

The total annual budget expenses of the Central Government leaped from 26,000,000 pesos (\$13,000,000) in 1908 to 79,000,000 pesos (\$39,500,000) in 1928. The total appropriation authorized in 1934 was 64,000,838 pesos and 4 centavos (\$32,000,419.02). Deducting from this amount the sum of 20,720,606 pesos and 83 centavos (\$10,360,303.41), representing fixed charges and other continuing appropriations, the balance was 43,280,231 pesos and 21 centavos (\$21,640,115.60), the gross appropriation for regular operation expenses. Further elucidation of these dry figures will be found in a graphic presentation of the budget for 1935.

The cities of Manila and Baguio, like the Central Government, have balanced budgets. Provincial and municipal finances are not so well ordered. Overdrafts and heavy accounts payable have been incurred in several provinces.

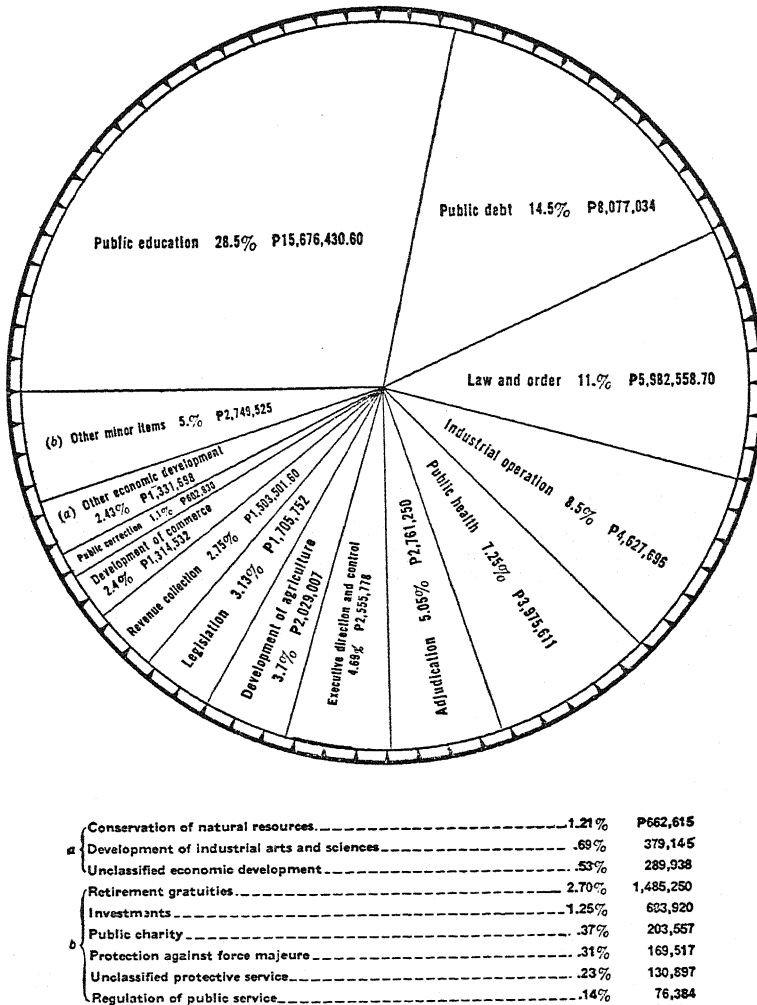
The Philippine Commonwealth is in a sound financial condition. It is also gratifying to note that the Commonwealth Government will continue to make use of the budget system.

INCOME

The income of the Central Government is mainly derived from customs duties, internal revenue taxes, and earnings of government enterprises. The import duties are primarily for revenue and only incidentally for protection of local industries. The principal sources of governmental income derived from internal revenue are the license and business tax, the excise tax, the income tax, the documentary stamp tax, the tax on banks, insurance companies, and corporations, the charges for forest products, the tax on mines, and the inheritance tax.

A tax peculiar to the Philippines is the cedula tax. This is paid by all male inhabitants of the Philippines, with a few

AUTHORIZED EXPENDITURES FOR 1935
SHOWING THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THEY ARE TO BE USED
TOTAL P54,893,203.90



Courtesy of the Department of Finance.

GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF THE 1935 BUDGET

exceptions, between the ages of eighteen and sixty. In amount, it is generally two pesos a year. Aside from being a tax measure, cedula are made to serve as certificates of identification. The cedula tax constitutes a part of provincial and municipal revenue.

The sales tax has been in force in the Philippines since the Internal Revenue Law was first enacted in 1904. Originally fixed at one-third of one per cent, subsequently it was raised to one per cent, while during the war an excuse was found to raise it again to one and one-half per cent and there it has remained. Merchants have protested in vain against the tax, but in lieu of a better substitute it has been retained. The greatest difficulty in applying the law equitably has come from the business transactions of the Chinese, who have persisted in keeping their books of account in their own language.

The principal source of provincial and municipal revenue is the real property tax. Local in nature and direct in application, it is here that the tax shoe pinches most the masses. The complaints against this burdensome tax have been many and vociferous. Petitions for remission of the real-estate tax swamp the offices of the Government, and only the firmness of the Chief Executive has kept these petitions from being granted. Something will have to be done by way of readjusting the land tax to avoid agrarian discontent.

The actual revenue collected by the Central Government in 1933 was 58,047,374 pesos and 35 centavos (\$29,023,-687.17). This means that the per capita taxation in the Philippines is low, approximately 4 pesos (\$2.00); in 1926 4 pesos and 51 centavos (\$2.25), in 1931 3 pesos and 88 centavos (\$1.94). Compared with England and the United States, and even with Japan, the showing is remarkable. Nor is this all. It has been estimated that Americans and foreigners pay approximately eighty per cent of the taxes. Divide the remaining twenty per cent among thirteen million taxable Filipinos, and the burden is not heavy.

EXPENDITURES

The Philippines is self-sustaining. The entire cost of civil administration is borne by local taxpayers. This has been true since the beginning of American occupation.

From another angle it can be said with some degree of truthfulness that the Islands have been a financial burden to the United States. In the first place, 40,000,000 pesos (\$20,000,000) were paid by the United States to Spain for the privilege of subjugating the Filipino insurgents. Having neglected to include a few little islands in the first arrangement, a short time later we find the United States handing over to Spain another 200,000 pesos (\$100,000) in payment for them. Then it cost the United States 360,000,000 pesos (\$180,000,000) to assimilate benevolently these same insurgents above mentioned.

Subsequent to the war period in American-Philippine relations, the expenses incident to American occupation in the Philippines have come chiefly from the money spent for the Army and Navy. In this connection it might be well to direct attention to the fact that 2,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000) have been taken annually out of the American Treasury to pay Filipinos in the military service. In addition, the meticulous detail-inclined would debit the Philippine account with the following items: A portion of the appropriations of the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Bureau of Quarantine Service; certain expenses of the United States Department of Agriculture; salaries and expenses of the Philippine Resident Commissioners at Washington; Bureau of Insular Affairs; internal revenue and customs duties paid to the Philippine treasury; appropriation for the 1903 Census of the Philippines; and appropriation for relief of the distressed in 1903—to make a grand total of 2,000,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000,000). The sum shrinks from its apparent hugeness and is not as terrifying as it seems when it is re-

called that all this was for a period of thirty-seven years, that certain items have been wrongly applied, and that commercial advantages have been obtained through relations with the Philippines.

In a government like that in the Philippines, the tendency has been to perpetuate a bureaucracy. On the other hand, it is a source of gratification that the largest amount of the public funds has been allocated to public instruction. Other large sums have gone to public works, particularly popular with legislators and sacrilegiously referred to as "pork-barrel." Sufficient funds have yearly been appropriated for the funding of the national debt.

Under the circumstances, the Philippine Government has done about as well as the rest of the world in giving value received for taxes and in keeping governmental expenses down to a reasonable level.

THE PUBLIC DEBT

The Philippine Commonwealth starts out in a strong financial position. The net obligations of the Government, as I will presently demonstrate, do not exceed 45,000,000 pesos (\$22,500,000), which is a mere trifle in comparison with the enormous debt loads which other peoples must carry.

The Jones Law of 1916 restricted the borrowing power of the Philippine Government to 30,000,000 pesos (\$15,000,000), exclusive of the Friar Lands' bonds. In 1921, the United States Congress raised the debt limit of the Central Government to 60,000,000 pesos (\$30,000,000) exclusive of the Friar Lands' bonds, and in 1922 considerably liberalized this provision. It was then provided that the indebtedness of the Philippine Government, exclusive of the Friar Lands' bonds and of provincial and municipal bonds, shall not exceed at any one time ten per cent of the tax valuation of its property. As the total assessed valuation of the taxable

property of the Philippines is close to two billion pesos (one billion dollars), the national debt could mount to 200,000,000 pesos (\$100,000,000). In exact figures, as of the date when the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth was inaugurated, the public debt of the Philippines including not only bonds of the Central Government proper but provincial, municipal, and other government entity bonds, amounts to 154,364,700 pesos (\$77,182,350).⁴

The Philippine Government is legally meeting both interest and the required amortization of its bonds. Sinking funds have been created which are entirely adequate for the retirement of the bonds. Deducting the sinking-fund reserve of approximately 61,000,000 pesos (\$30,500,000) from the total bonded indebtedness, the net bonded liability is 92,000,000 pesos (\$46,000,000). As recently the Philippine Government was credited with a profit of 47,000,000 pesos (\$23,500,000) on its deposit in the United States Treasury, and will receive other large sums in the refund of processing taxes, the net obligation of the Philippine Commonwealth, as I have previously stated, should not exceed at the most 45,000,000 pesos (\$22,500,000). As a final precautionary measure to guard against default in the payment of the bonded debt, the United States High Commissioner is empowered to seize the customs service and apply the revenue to any overdue indebtedness.

The national debt of the Philippines is very low when compared with the debts of other nations. It has been estimated that the per capita indebtedness of the Philippines is 11 pesos and 60 centavos (\$5.80), but it should not be over 7 pesos (\$3.50) when all proper deductions from the public debt have been made.

Philippine bonds have invariably been sold advantageously at good figures in the American market. The financial position of the Philippine Government was further strengthened

⁴ Figures furnished by Insular Treasurer Salvador Lagdameo.

when on February 1, 1934, it redeemed its Friar Lands' bonds valued at 14,000,000 pesos (\$7,000,000).

I boldly asserted in introducing the subject of the public debt that the Philippine Commonwealth starts out in a strong financial position. I repeat that this is true. However, there are one or two flies in the financial ointment. The bonded debt of the Manila Railroad Company roughly calculated is 52,000,000 pesos (\$26,000,000). A sinking fund takes care of 3,000,000 pesos (\$1,500,000) worth of bonds due in 1937. But in 1939 approximately 21,000,000 pesos (\$10,500,000) of bonds of the railroad are due, and the Philippine Government, as the owner of the capital stock of the railroad, is obligated to redeem the bonds. Absolutely no provision has been made for sinking funds with which to retire these bonds. To meet the emergency, the National Assembly in one of its first measures, enacted in December, 1935, set aside 13,350,000 pesos (\$6,675,000) from the Exchange Standard Fund and the assets of the Philippine National Bank to redeem 16,340,000 pesos (\$8,170,000) face value (27,287,000 pesos—\$13,643,500, exchange value) of English-held bonds which their owners had offered at twenty per cent discount, thus effecting a saving in principal, interest, and exchange estimated at 17,000,000 pesos (\$8,500,000). The Government is also indirectly obligated for the payment of the Philippine Railway bonds, because it has guaranteed the payment of the interest.

THE GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

From time to time, and imprudently it would seem, the Philippine Government has embarked on ambitious plans for economic development. Officials have not been lacking who have condemned in the strongest possible language the policy of the government in business. But once in, it was not so easy for the Government to get out, without substantial loss.

The principal corporations and companies that are under governmental control are the Philippine National Bank, the Manila Railroad Company, the Manila Hotel affiliated with the Railroad Company, the National Development Company, and the Cebu Portland Cement Company. The National Development Company, created with grandiose aims, is more of a paper organization than anything else. The National Coal Company has been closed out after a large deficit was written off the books. The bank, the railroad, the hotel, and the cement company are going concerns. They generally have proved profitable except that the Philippine National Bank in its early days loaned large amounts of money on questionable securities and in so doing brought the Government close to bankruptcy.

THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL BANK ⁵

The Philippine Government's incursion into the banking field has passed through two phases. The first is a sordid tale of nearly unbelievable mismanagement, graft, and the violation of every rule that good banking practice dictates. The second is a factual report of prudent management, honesty, and conformity to accepted business principles.

The Philippine National Bank was created in 1916. Dr. H. Parker Willis, Secretary of the United States Federal Reserve Board, came out to see the bank started. Then Mr. Samuel Ferguson, an employee of the Government who had seen service in the Supreme Court and in the office of the Governor-General, but without previous banking experience, was put in charge. He was succeeded in the presidential office by General Venancio Concepcion, also without banking experience. General Concepcion later served a prison term.

In 1919 the affairs of the bank were examined by Mr. F.

⁵ Section read by Hon. Miguel Cuaderno, Vice President of the Philippine National Bank.

Coates, Jr., clearing-house examiner of Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1921 by Messrs. Haskins and Sells, certified public accountants of New York City. These reports brought to light the astonishing state of the bank's finances. Among other things, there was disclosed the following: slight surveillance was exercised over the main office and practically no control over the branches and agencies; funds were loaned on slight investigation and without adequate security; the Government reserves to protect its currency were transferred to insecure investments; an exchange speculation with Shanghai involved a loss of 14,000,000 pesos (\$7,000,000); a large portion of the investment made by the Government in the capital stock and the government deposit were lost; the principal losses totalled over 60,000,000 pesos (\$30,000,000). During a brief period of six years the bank had been wrecked. It was insolvent.

Now for a more pleasing picture. Mr. E. W. Wilson, an experienced banker from San Francisco, was made President of the Philippine National Bank. The Rehabilitation Act of 1924, passed by the Philippine Legislature, put the bank in a legal position to operate and was supported by the greater borrowing power of the Philippine Government. The process of liquidating the frozen assets, mostly in sugar centrals, was begun. The bank began to make money. Year by year it steadily improved its position. In 1934, the profits of the bank were 3,931,000 pesos (\$1,965,500) and it was able to repay 2,946,000 pesos (\$1,473,000) to the Government. Indeed, through conservative management, the bank has been reimbursed for most of its loans and is making good on its own loans from the Government.

The Philippine National Bank is now functioning satisfactorily. Hon. Rafael Corpus, a level-headed Filipino, is at the helm. An experienced organization assists him. The bank still has outstanding investments in sugar centrals and loans, but the amounts are so small as to cause no grave concern.

The Philippine National Bank is not the only financial institution of its kind in the Philippines, but its history of shadows and lights is the most interesting. There are ten other strong banks in the Islands: one, the Postal Savings Bank conducted by the Bureau of Posts, another, a branch of a great American bank of New York, a third, a local organization backed by the mercantile community, a fourth, a bank with Chinese capital, a fifth, a bank sponsored by the Japanese, three others financed by the Catholic Church, and the remaining two British owned. Philippine banks are supervised by the Bureau of Banking, the chief of which is the Bank Commissioner.

THE MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY ⁶

In 1917 the Philippine Government acquired ownership of the Manila Railroad and was roundly scored for so doing. Before that the railroad had been British owned and managed, the original franchise having been granted by the Spanish crown in 1887. Mr. Horace L. Higgins, at the head of the railroad, was a familiar figure for many years thereafter.

The lines of the Manila Railroad Company are entirely on the Island of Luzon. The main north line of the railroad extends from Manila to San Fernando in La Union Province, and the main south line from Manila to Legaspi in Albay Province. A gap of about forty kilometers still exists on the southern line. The laterals of the railroad serve other regions. After considerable construction work had been accomplished and a fairly large sum of money expended, a branch into Baguio was prudently abandoned. Comparatively large sums have been used to connect up the South line.

In the old days a ride on the Manila-Dagupan Railroad was an experience, and not always a happy one, which lingered long in the memory. Conditions have changed and for the better. The President of the Manila Railroad, Mr. Jose

⁶ Section read by Mr. Jose Paez, President of the Manila Railroad Company.

Paez, is an experienced engineer who manages the company efficiently. Schedules are maintained. First-class accommodations are comfortable, with a dining-car attached, a sleeping-car for night travel, even an air-conditioned car to make travel pleasant. There is no second class, but third-class passengers are accommodated in separate coaches. As of yore, in the third-class cars baggage fills every available nook including the aisles and platforms.

The balance sheets of the Manila Railroad have shown profits. This even in depression days and in the face of keen competition from busses. In fact, the railroad has had to enter the motor transportation field in self-protection. The report of the Comptroller of the Manila Railroad for 1934 was not so favorable, for it showed that the railroad had sustained a loss in the amount of a million pesos.

The Philippine Railway has no connection with the Manila Railroad and is an American concern. It operates lines on the Island of Panay from Iloilo to Capiz, and on the Island of Cebu from Cebu to Danao and from Cebu to Argao. The Philippine Railway functions at a loss. As the Government guarantees the interest on its bonds, and as these bonds become due in 1937, in a sense, the railway is the concern of the Philippine Commonwealth, and a very annoying and burdensome concern. The Philippine Government has considered the practicability of taking over the management of the Philippine Railway but hesitates at assuming this additional burden in view of its unsatisfactory operating status.

GENERAL AUDITING OFFICE ⁷

Under the American administration, the position of Insular Auditor was one of the most important in the Philippine service. In power and influence the Insular Auditor did not suf-

⁷ Section read by Mr. Jaime Hernandez, Deputy Insular Auditor.

fer by comparison with the Comptroller-General of the United States. Under the vigorous propulsion of an independent auditor, the inclination was for the office never to shirk responsibility, but rather to meet trouble more than half way, even if by so doing the office passed beyond the uttermost limits of its legal powers.

The President of the United States formerly appointed an Insular Auditor and a Deputy Auditor to have charge of the Bureau of Audits. It was made their duty to audit, examine, and settle all accounts pertaining to the revenues and receipts of the Insular, provincial, and municipal governments. The Bureau of Audits under these conditions became the central agency for the checking and auditing of collections and expenditures.

The Constitution of the Philippines sets aside one complete article for the "General Auditing Office." The office is placed under the direction and control of an Auditor-General. This official is appointed by the President of the Commonwealth with the consent of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly for a term of ten years and may not be reappointed. The powers and duties of the Auditor-General are similar to those of the Insular Auditor whom he succeeds. The Constitution provides that the decisions of the Auditor-General "may be appealed to the President [of the Commonwealth] whose action shall be final," while the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law provides that "appeals from decisions of the Insular Auditor [Auditor-General] may be taken to the President of the United States."

The office of the Insular Auditor was most in the limelight during the incumbency of Mr. Ben F. Wright. With the tacit approval of Governor-General Wood, Auditor Wright battled manfully against graft and corruption. Governor-General Stimson was not so well pleased with the Auditor's methods as his predecessor had been, and soon after Colonel

Stimson became Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet, Mr. Wright was relieved.

I was called upon to write the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Iloilo marginal wharf case, which went against Mr. Wright. Thereafter he openly flaunted the order of the Court and was sentenced by Mr. Justice Johns, the Vacation Justice, for contempt of court. Mr. Wright never served the sentence through the intervention of another Justice, but nevertheless had written *finis* to his career in the Philippines. The truth is that Ben F. Wright was a zealous auditor who treated a public office as a public trust, but who was unable to resist the temptation to break into print and to wander over into the domains of other officials who naturally resented the intrusion.

The last auditor under the American administration was Mr. J. Weldon Jones, who had been drafted from the faculty of Ohio State University to fill the position. A young professor of pleasing personality, he has quietly given full service in the performance of his manifold duties. Unlike other incumbents of the office who were wont to rule adversely, and it is to be presumed properly, against the claims of government officials, but who nevertheless were content themselves to receive double or treble compensation, Mr. Jones has received only the modest salary legally provided for the position of Insular Auditor.

A Filipino will fill the position of Auditor-General under the Philippine Commonwealth. A number of capable Filipinos are available for the job, as for instance, Jaime Hernandez, Deputy Insular Auditor, and Paciano Dizon, Comptroller of the Manila Railroad, for it should be explained that with the exception of the Insular Auditor, the Bureau of Audits for several years has otherwise been completely Filipinized. The Filipino Auditor-General has tradition and experience to support him as he checks the finances of an autonomous government.

CHAPTER XV

TRADE ¹

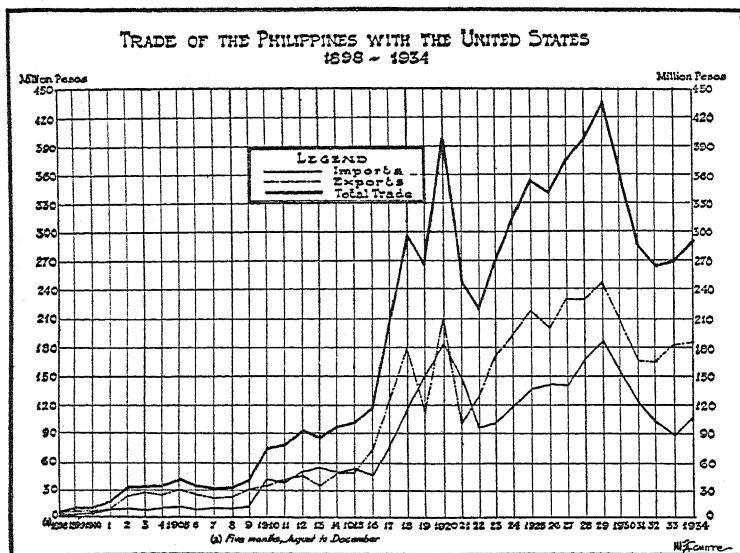
PHILIPPINE COMMERCE

ALTHOUGH Philippine commerce, like the Philippine Government, has gone through three stages of development, it is the modern phase which is the most important. Trade in pre-Spanish days was carried on with neighboring countries, mostly with China, but was irregular in nature. The Spaniards imposed a policy of trade limitations which was detrimental to the Philippines and which was not abolished until the early part of the nineteenth century.

In recent years the Philippines has sold her products in the protected American market and in other markets, and has made purchases in these countries. The trade of the Philippines has totalled more than a half billion pesos annually, and the bulk of that trade has been with the United States. In 1934 it did not reach that figure, for to be exact it amounted to 388,000,000 pesos (\$194,000,000) of which 167,000,000 pesos (\$83,500,000) represented imports and the remainder of 221,000,000 pesos (\$110,500,000) exports. This meant that a balance of trade in favor of the Islands of 54,000,000 pesos (\$27,000,000), a comfortable margin, was registered.

¹ This chapter was read by Mr. Cornelio Balmaceda, Director of Commerce. Mr. J. Bartlett Richards, American Trade Commissioner, also checked the figures and statements and offered valuable suggestions. See Lawrence Benton, *Port of Manila Year Book for 1935*, a narrative and statistical compilation of overseas commerce of the Philippine Islands from 1898 to 1934, and bulletins prepared by Mr. Leon Ma. Gonzales, Chief of the Division of Statistics, Department of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Philippines does business in practically all the marts of the world but mostly with six countries. The relative positions occupied by these countries based on their average trade with the Philippines during the last few years were: First, the United States; second, Japan; third, Great Britain; fourth, China, and fifth, Germany. Spain has been able to retain a portion of her trade with the Islands. Obviously there existed a reason in each case for Philippine trade with the



Courtesy of the Bureau of Commerce.

particular country. Free trade accounted for the concentration of Philippine overseas business in the United States. Japan and China are oriental neighbors who profit by their proximity and their ability to sell cheap goods. British merchants occupied a commanding position in Philippine commerce before American occupation and have remained to look after their interests. Germany by underselling her competitors has advanced her interests greatly in recent years. Spain was the mother country, and Spanish capital still found in the Islands is ready to divert trade to Spain.

The hard facts show an unbalanced Philippine trade. While in 1934 the Philippines sold the United States 184,606,977 pesos' (\$92,303,488) worth of merchandise, the Philippines bought from the United States only 109,359,541 pesos' (\$54,679,770) worth of merchandise. In the same year, the Philippines sold Japan 8,523,602 pesos' (\$4,261,801) worth of merchandise and bought 20,692,548 pesos (\$10,346,274); sold Great Britain 4,897,986 pesos (\$2,448,993) and bought 4,173,146 pesos (\$2,086,573); sold China 2,175,159 pesos (\$1,087,579) and bought 5,879,214 pesos (\$2,939,607); and sold Germany 2,058,933 pesos (\$1,029,466) and bought 7,265,956 pesos (\$3,632,978). Aside from the United States, the Philippines had a trade balance in her favor with Great Britain, Spain, France, Italy, and the Netherlands, but this latter trade was not of sufficient volume to offer any encouragement for expansion in the near future. Putting the matter another way, since 1930 the United States has bought four-fifths of all that the Philippines sells, and has sold the Philippines two-thirds of what the Philippines buys. Japan, on the other hand, sells the Islands between two and three times as much as she buys. In the year 1934 Philippine exports to the United States were in value more than one and a half times bigger than Philippine imports from the United States.

EXPORTS

The chief source of wealth in the Philippines is the production and exportation of agricultural commodities. As a corollary to this statement, account should be taken of the sale of hardwood lumber and of the increasing shipments of Philippine-produced minerals, mostly gold.

In 1934 the value of Philippine products available for export came to well over 200,000,000 pesos (\$100,000,000). Eighty-four per cent of this trade was with the United States. The tremendous volume of business with the United States is

accounted for by free trade with that country, for the real increase in exports began in 1909 when free trade between the two countries was established. During and immediately following the World War there was an artificial rise in exports due to the high prices which then prevailed. The period of readjustment followed but did not particularly harm Philippine business. The volume of Philippine exports is actually satisfactory, but has two weaknesses, the great reliance placed on sugar, and the equally great reliance placed on access to the American market.

In the order of importance as of 1934 the exports from the Philippines are (1) sugar; (2) coconut products (copra, coconut oil, copra meal, desiccated and shredded coconut); (3) gold; (4) hemp and cordage; (5) tobacco products; (6) embroideries; (7) lumber; (8) hats, and (9) shells and the manufactures of shells. But this order is liable to change. Hemp, formerly first, is now fourth. The first, sugar, may soon be last, and another export may soon be first.

The most surprising development in Philippine commerce has had to do with the sugar industry. By leaps and bounds it has gone forward to become the predominant product. In value sugar represents about sixty per cent of all Philippine exports.

Without sugar—without free entrance to the American market—what?

IMPORTS

During the course of the long and acrimonious debates in the Congress of the United States on the Philippine question, in which arguments were marshalled for and against the imposition of restrictions on imports to the United States, one very plain fact was entirely lost to view: The Philippines is the ninth best customer of the United States and has stood seventh on the list of countries consuming American products.

It is true that there was not a reciprocally balanced trade between the United States and the Philippines. Yet the statistics show that the United States held sixty per cent of the volume of import trade of the Philippines. As the value of Philippine imports from the United States had amounted to nearly 200,000,000 pesos (\$100,000,000) in 1929 and even in 1934 was half as much, the United States had a good field for the sale of American goods. Also, the volume of Philippine commerce had been a big factor in upbuilding American shipping in the Far Eastern trade.

An analysis of the principal Philippine imports discloses some interesting facts. Foods and food products were a major item, and included were dairy products, that is, the products of the very interests which objected to the unrestricted entry of Philippine coconut oil. Flour and vegetables, also proceeding from the objecting American farmers, were other food products in this classification. Cotton manufactures entered the Philippines in large quantities, and it is here that the Japanese low-priced merchandise has undersold American articles. Manufactures of iron and steel were imported from the United States in appreciable amounts. Curiously enough, while in 1934 the Philippines sold the United States 7,000,000 pesos' (\$3,500,000) worth of cigars, the Philippines bought from the United States 5,000,000 pesos (\$2,500,000) worth of tobacco products. The Philippines leads all countries in the Far East in the number of automobiles per capita of population, and these automobiles came from the United States.

It is so self-evident as hardly to require statement that if the Filipinos cannot sell their products they cannot buy. If the Filipinos are shut out of the American market, self-preservation will cause them to try and sell to the foreign countries from which they buy. Thus will the United States lose a good customer, and the United States can ill afford to lose such a customer in these days of keen competition. Pos-

sibly a happy balance can be struck which will preserve part of the American market for Philippine exports and which to the same extent will protect American products in the Philippines. Those of us who have the best interests of the two countries at heart will devoutly hope that such an agreement can be reached.

PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN TRADE RELATIONS ²

The present trade relation of the Philippines with the United States has behind it a background of a century and a half of commercial intercourse. American merchants were among the first to enter the Islands when the Port of Manila was opened to commerce by the Spanish Government. In 1859 it was reported that "of the foreign merchants in Manila, the United States occupies the first place with more than a third of the total value of exports." However, during the last decades of Spanish rule, American commercial supremacy in the Philippines was eclipsed by the aggressiveness of British competitors.

The initial phase of United States-Philippine trade after the capture of Manila by the American forces was characterized by the imposition of duties on American products entering the Islands and on Philippine products shipped to the United States. By the Act of Congress of March 8, 1902, Philippine exports to the United States were permitted to enter the United States at a twenty-five per cent deduction from the regular rates. Thereafter it was not until 1909 that the United States was in a position to approve a more satisfactory arrangement. By that time the provisions in the Treaty of Paris which confirmed equality of treatment in the admission of Spanish and American merchandise to the Islands could be lifted. By the Paine Tariff Act of 1909 all Philippine

² See Cornelio Balmaceda, Director of Commerce, *Background of Philippine-American Trade* (1934).

products were admitted to the United States free of duty, except rice which was banned and except sugar beyond 300,000 tons a year and tobacco beyond 150,000,000 cigars a year. The prohibition in the case of rice was of no importance because the Philippines was a rice-importing country, and the limitation on sugar and cigars was then not harmful because the limit of the quotas was not reached. The Underwood Act of 1913 established unrestricted free trade between the United States and the Philippines.

The agitation against the free importation of Philippine products into the United States took concrete form in the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. It was there provided that during the five years following the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government, free trade with the United States should continue, but with the quantity of sugar which could be admitted to the United States free of duty limited to 850,000 long tons, coconut oil to 200,000 long tons, and cordage to 3,000,000 pounds in each calendar year. From the sixth to the tenth year following the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government, limited free trade was to continue with export taxes imposed at the rate of five per cent in the first year, ten per cent in the second year, and so on until the tax in the tenth year would be twenty-five per cent of the United States duties then in force. At the conclusion of the ten-year period after the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government and coincident with the proclamation of the Philippine Republic, free trade with the United States will end. Philippine products will then be subject to the full duties provided in the United States Tariff. The harshness of the law was partially softened by the proviso that at least one year before the proclamation of Philippine independence, a conference of representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth shall be held for the purpose of formulating recommendations as to future trade relations between

the United States and the independent Government of the Philippine Islands.

The remarkable increase in Philippine-American trade after American occupation has been the outstanding feature. This expansion in Philippine-American commerce was of course accompanied by a decline of Philippine trade with other countries. In 1900, shortly after the establishment of the American régime, the share of the United States in Philippine trade was a little over ten per cent. In ten years America's share had increased to forty per cent. Then under the impetus of free trade, the share further increased to fifty per cent, to sixty per cent, to seventy per cent, to seventy-five per cent in 1934.

Free trade with the United States has been the most potent factor in the commercial development of the Islands since it was first partially established in 1909 and completely imposed four years later. It had the effect of encouraging the growth of Philippine exports to the United States and of American imports to the Philippines. On the free market in the United States the Filipinos built their prosperity. As reciprocity worked out, it was not exactly reciprocity, for it was the Philippines which made money out of the United States and not the United States which made money out of the Philippines. And curiously enough reciprocal free trade with the United States was not sought by the Filipino people. Instead, the Philippine Assembly passed a resolution deploring free trade, and this sentiment was echoed in Washington by Resident Commissioner Ocampo. It is probably the only instance in history of prosperity being forced on to a dependent people against their will.

With the disrupting of free trade by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, a considerable decline in both exports to the American market and of imports of American goods will inevitably follow. When the full American tariff on Philippine products shall be imposed it has been estimated that the Philippines will lose about seventy per cent

of her export trade and imports will decline proportionately. To avoid this catastrophe in whole or in part, the Philippine-American Trade Association, composed of leading Filipino and American figures in business life, was organized in 1934. Its purpose is to assure the mutual benefits to be obtained from a continuation of reciprocal free trade between the United States and the Philippines. The campaign received support from Senator Carl Hayden in a preliminary survey of economic conditions in the Philippines and aroused prompt opposition from the American Farm Bureau Federation. The Japanese Consul General in Manila, Hon. Atsushi Kimura, was neither slow nor diffident in voicing his opinion in an effort to dissuade the Filipinos not to raise tariff barriers against cheap Japanese goods. So the problem of Philippine-American trade relations assumes an aspect—and a vital one—of international politics.

THE PHILIPPINE TARIFF

A great deal might be written about the nature of the Philippine tariff. However, I surmise that the average reader would not find very much of interest in a lengthy dissertation on customs duties. Suffice it to say that Philippine tariff laws are intended primarily to raise revenue. Indeed, this purpose was baldly so stated in the title of the Act of Congress of 1909 which is the principal tariff law. The duties imposed by the existing laws on goods imported from foreign countries are relatively low.

Although the Jones Law authorized the Philippine Legislature to enact tariff laws with reference to countries other than the United States with the approval of the President of the United States, advantage was not often taken of this permissive authority. Only in recent years have acts been passed by the Philippine Legislature and approved by the President which showed concern for the protection of home

industries. Rice furnishes an example. So likewise does meat. In other words, the desire was to afford the people the opportunity to grow sufficient rice and cattle for their own needs. Without any doubt under an autonomous and independent Philippine Government, this policy of protectionism will be enlarged upon from time to time.

Protection of the Philippine market will be needed for another purpose. Philippine salvation depends on access to the American market. Yet it is axiomatic that the Philippines cannot sell unless she buys. So customs duties will have to be raised sufficiently to safeguard American importations. As it is, the Philippine demands for textiles and other products are being met by articles furnished by Japan. The existing and delicate problem will be to appease Philippine importers and exporters, without sanctioning a serious loss in revenue, without raising prices to so high a level as to be beyond the purchasing power of the people, and without offending touchy Japan.

DOMESTIC TRADE ³

So much emphasis has been laid on foreign trade that little attention has been paid to domestic trade in the Philippines. The Filipino may sell his sugar, coconut oil, hemp, and tobacco and may buy commodities in foreign lands, yet the fact is lost sight of that right at home he sells what he has and buys to the extent of financial capacity. Rice, for example, is grown, harvested, sold, and bought in the Islands. So likewise are the fish, vegetables, and fruits that are consumed. In the matter of dress, slippers and shoes, cloth from native materials, and hats for the laboring class are manufactured in the Islands.

The lamentable fact is that not over thirty per cent of the domestic trade is in the hands of the Filipinos. Yet even this

³ See *Economic Problems of the Philippines*, by the Philippine Economic Association, Hon. Elpidio Quirino, President (1934), pp. 175-185.

is ahead of the ten or fifteen per cent of a few years ago. As late as 1930 the Chinese had seventy per cent of the domestic trade, and their share had been known to reach eighty per cent. Grudgingly and stubbornly, the Chinese are losing ground to the Japanese, who in a brief period of time have more than doubled their ten per cent participation to twenty-five per cent, mostly at the expense of the Chinese. No less a figure than the Chinese Consul-General of Manila has predicted that in ten years the Japanese will control the retail trade of the Islands.

The people have been exhorted to patronize home industries and to a certain extent these preachments have had an effect. Encouragement of native industries is given whenever possible. A government trade center in Manila displays Philippine products. Slowly but surely the campaign to overcome the peculiar distrust of the people for home-grown and -manufactured articles, as inferior to foreign importations, and to induce the people to "buy Philippine," is getting results.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

The picturesque vintas of the Moros still sail the equatorial seas. The bull carts and carabao sleds of Filipino farmers still plod slowly along the country roads. But by the vintas now pass fast and large water craft. By the bull carts and carabao sleds go the swift automobiles and passenger busses. Overhead fly modern passenger planes. The Philippines clings to the old while using the new.

The construction of good roads greatly facilitated transportation. In place of the old Spanish road system with less than a 1,000 miles of right of way, and this available for travel only during the dry season and then but to a limited extent, the Philippines today have 13,000 miles of excellent thoroughfares. The Provinces of Pampanga and Occidental Negros even boast of cement-paved highways. Roads such as

these have induced the development of the transportation business which has progressed amazingly in a period of less than twenty-five years. Registrations as of January 1, 1935, showed that 15,847 trucks and busses were operating in the Islands. To carry the figures forward into larger fields, nearly 200,000,000 pesos (\$100,000,000) are invested in various classes of public utilities. Of this amount approximately forty per cent represents American capital and approximately sixty per cent Filipino capital. The Public Service Commission regulates public utilities.

Manila, the chief port of entry, is served by many steamship lines. This is so because Manila is strategically located at the crossroads of the world's trade routes. The docking facilities for these ships at Manila and other Philippine ports are satisfactory. In spite of the fact that American ships carry scarcely one-third of the Islands' freight, Philippine shipping has not been included in the American coastwise trade.

To have to travel on an inter-island vessel in time past was a trying ordeal. To make life bearable the passenger had to arrange to sleep on a cot on deck, and copious draughts of red wine were needed to wash down the unpalatable food. But accommodations on inter-island ships have changed in recent years, and markedly for the better. Travel by ship to the Islands' ports can now be made quickly and in comparative comfort.

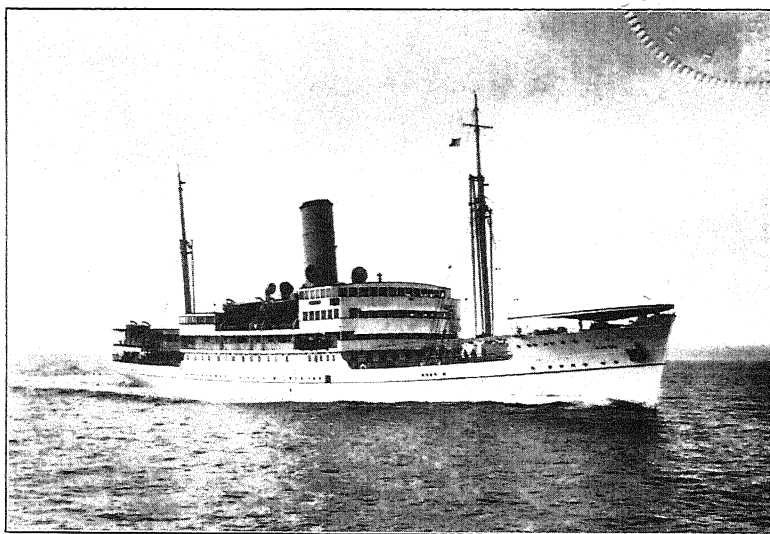
Air services operate on regular schedules between Manila and Baguio, the sport and health resort of the Orient, between Manila and Iloilo, a leading port city, and between Iloilo and adjacent places. Moreover, commercial aviation has a perfect safety record in the Philippines. Its outstanding achievement is that to date there has never been an accident. Government policy looks to encouraging the expansion of aviation.

Whether by Moro vinta, carabao sled, motor-bus, inter-island steamer, or passenger plane, adequate transportation facilities are available in the Philippines.



Bureau of Public Works photograph

THE BUREAU OF POSTS BUILDING, MANILA



STEAMSHIP *MAYON* OF THE PHILIPPINE INTER-ISLAND STEAMSHIP COMPANY

Operated by the Robert Dollar Company; constructed especially for the Philippines inter-island trade.

CHAPTER XVI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ¹

PHILIPPINE RESOURCES

THE Philippines has been pronounced by experts who ought to know whereof they speak to be the most favored group of tropical islands in the world. On the fertile lands of these islands, nature has bestowed her riches with a generous hand and her beauties in harmonious combination. The latent possibilities in agriculture, forestry, and mining are unsurpassed.

The total wealth of the Philippines is hard to estimate and when estimated reaches such tremendous figures as to be beyond the comprehension of the common man. Possibly it would not be too far-fetched to say that 2,000,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000,000) represents the assessed valuation of real estate; another 1,000,000,000 pesos (\$500,000,000) the economic value of the public lands not taxed and not developed; 8,000,000,000 pesos (\$4,000,000,000) the forests, and 1,000,000,000 pesos (\$500,000,000) the mines and fisheries. An addition of the estimates brings a grand total of 12,000,000,000 pesos (\$6,000,000,000), which it is believed is not an exaggerated approximation of the wealth of the Islands.

This is the wealth of the Philippines, but not necessarily of the Filipinos. The Filipinos have proved themselves poor traders. They produce; others distribute. Hardly one per cent of the total population are Americans and foreigners, yet this one per cent pays four-fifths of all the taxes collected by

¹ The first seven sections of this chapter were read by Mr. Jose S. Camus, Director of Plant Industry. See *Economic Problems of the Philippines*, by the Philippine Economic Association, Hon. Elpidio Quirino, President (1934).

the government. Of course, as with all rules, there are exceptions to it. Vicente Madrigal, for instance, starting in the coal business on a shoe-string capital of 2,000 pesos (\$1,000), accumulated in a few years a fortune estimated at one time to amount to 15,000,000 pesos (\$7,500,000), and which even after considerable shrinkage due to the economic depression still puts him in the millionaire class.

The Philippines is not a manufacturing country, and probably never will be. The products of the Islands are left mostly in the raw or unfinished state. Yet this is not an absolutely inclusive statement. The Philippines manufactures cigars and cigarettes, distilled spirits and fermented liquors, embroideries, hats, shoes, buttons, cement, rope, and coconut oil, and a great deal of lumber is produced by lumber mills scattered over the Islands.

Putting the matter another way, the Philippines is essentially an agricultural country. The cultivation of the soil has been the main source of wealth. In the pre-Spanish Philippines as today, the Filipinos were growing rice, hemp, sugarcane, and coconuts. Doubtless the Philippines will continue to depend on agriculture for an indefinite period in the future.

The story of rice, hemp, sugar, and coconuts will be told briefly in succeeding paragraphs. So likewise will the forest and mineral wealth be described. At this point I would mention some of the Philippine products not quite so much to the forefront, but which have importance.

Tobacco-raising was fostered by the Spanish Government and at one time was a government monopoly. Today the Philippines leads all countries in the exportation of cigars. Unfortunately, the best class of Philippine cigars are not generally known outside the Islands. The Philippine tobacco trade has had to be content with supplying for American consumption the cheap cigars of the two-for-a-nickel and nickel classes. Philippine cigarettes have had the same obstacles to

overcome; in fact the Philippines is a large importer of American and foreign cigarettes. It should be said in defense of Philippine tobacco that the flavor is good and that cigars and cigarettes are manufactured in Manila in factories which are strictly supervised from the sanitary standpoint.

Rubber is grown in small quantities, and conditions are ideal for its development. The experts of the United States Department of Commerce reported that the climate of the Philippines is as favorable for rubber-planting as in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and that 1,500,000 acres of potential rubber land in Mindanao and Sulu in the Philippine group are available. But we do not have to depend on theory. The experience of rubber plantations in the Islands, notably of the American Rubber Company of the Island of Basilan, has proved that rubber can be produced profitably here.

Conditions are also favorable for the growing of coffee and cacao in the Philippines. Indeed at one time considerable quantities of coffee were produced locally. The coffee industry is fast reviving through the use of coffee-rust resistant varieties. Philippine-grown cacao commands a higher price than that imported, due to the former's superior flavor.

Likewise, there is little doubt that tea and cotton could be grown in the Philippines. The Japanese have recently evinced an interest in the purchase of any cotton that could be produced in marketable quantities. An intensive campaign to induce farmers to raise cotton is being waged.

Potentially, then, the Philippine Islands possess vast natural resources. The problem is to transmute that paper wealth to realistic cash.

RICE—THE IFUGAO RICE TERRACES

I seem to recall that someone has written a novel based on the theme of rice in China. It remains for some other gifted author to tell the epic story of rice in the Philippines. For rice

typifies the life of the Filipino people as it does in other oriental countries. It is the staple food of the Filipino. It is the thing that occupies his attention more than any other. Rice-planting in the lowlands is an occasion for song, for love, and for neighborliness. To grow rice in the highlands the Ifugaos have built the stupendous rice terraces which hang like gardens in the sky.

Palay, meaning the rice plant, is grown in each of the provinces of the Islands more or less extensively. However, the five provinces comprising the greater portion of the central plain of Luzon and the plains of Cotabato, Mindanao, are the regions most favorably adapted to rice-growing on a large scale. Even so, the rice produced in the Philippines has been insufficient for local consumption. As a consequence it has been necessary to import considerable quantities of rice, principally from French Indo-China, and practically no rice has been available for export. But with sugar land plowed up and flooded to grow rice, and with an increased yield from irrigated land and from a more careful selection of seeds, it may be expected that henceforth the Philippines will supply its own needs for rice and even have a surplus.

It was only in 1934 that rice exports exceeded rice imports. During that year, the United States, for the first time, imported Philippine rice in an appreciable quantity. That promising start was almost immediately halted by the enactment in 1935 by the Congress of the United States of a law placing a one cent a pound processing tax on rice.

The planting season of rice is celebrated in the Philippines as corn husking is in the United States. Rice-planting usually begins in the early part of June and ends in the latter part of August. Often it is made a community affair. The farmer supplies the eatables and his friends supply the man- and woman-power, for men and women work side by side in the fields. To the accompaniment of guitars and harmonicas and with song and laughter, the seedlings are made ready, the land

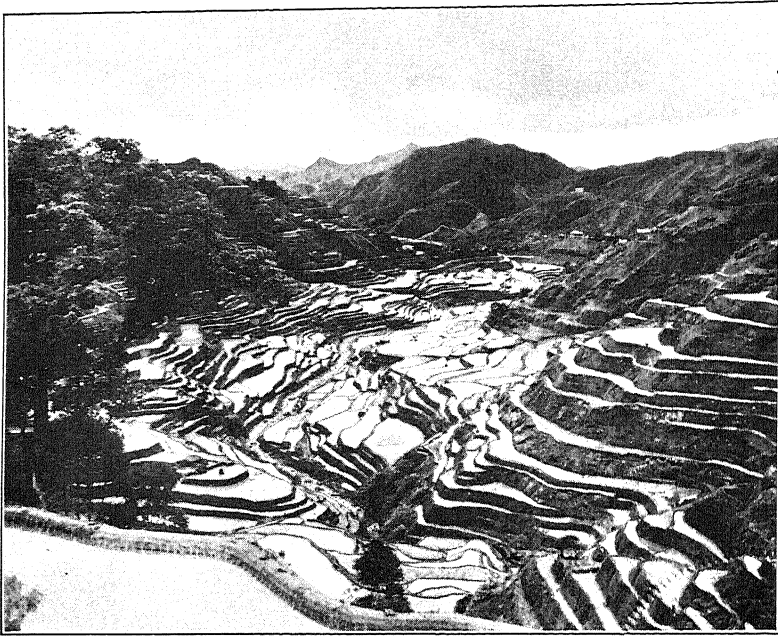


Photo Finishing Corporation

A SECTION OF THE IFUGAO RICE TERRACES

At Banaue in the mountains of northern Luzon. Across the valley to the right of the center of the picture is the new Banaue rest-house.



Photograph by Merl La Voy

BENGUET CONSOLIDATED MINE

is harrowed, and the rows of *palay* are planted. It is a golden opportunity for love-making, and needless to say youthful swains and their adored make the most of it.

On the steep slopes of the mountainous country of Northern Luzon between Bontoc and Kiangan with Banaue as the center, the Ifugaos have built a wonderful series of rice terraces that are among the great engineering works of the world. The rice terraces of the Ifugaos are as marvelous as those of the Incas of Peru, as marvelous as the pyramids of Egypt. Reflect on these facts: the Ifugao terraces are chiseled in the steep mountainsides; the terraces are watered by ditches heading in the rivers miles above; the terraces are sometimes forty feet in height; the terraces cover one hundred square miles; twelve thousand miles of stone support them; the walls are held in place without cementing material of any kind. So cunningly and securely have the retaining walls been made that notwithstanding the lack of binding material, they have withstood the shocks of earthquake and flood for two thousand years.

One evening during Easter week in 1935, I stood on the veranda of the new Rest House at Banaue and from that vantage gazed upon miles upon miles of rice terraces. A full moon accommodately lent its rays to bring out the splendor of the scene. Lights gleamed here and there in the nipa-thatched homes of the residents. In the distance the drums beat for a *cañao* in preparation. To mind came those other wonders of the Orient which I have seen—the Great Wall of China, the gigantic bronze statue of Daibutsu of Japan, the Angkor Wat of Cambodia, and the ruins of Borobudur of Java—all stupendous and soul-stirring. Not one surpasses the rice terraces of the Ifugaos in the Philippines.

The next morning as I departed on my return journey and as the sun brought out more sharply the green of the growing rice and the immensity of man's handiwork, I reflected on these questions—Are the astounding irrigation systems of

the Ifugaos an invention of their own? Their crude civilization would answer no. If not, what people introduced rice terraces worthy to be called the eighth wonder of the world? No one knows.

MANILA HEMP²

Abaca of Philippine growth has long been known to commerce as "Manila hemp." This was the magic name which first beckoned American ships to Manila. In those days the *abaca* (Manila-hemp) industry was a Philippine monopoly. More recently *abaca* has had to meet keen competition with the result that the export of this product has dwindled in value from over 100,000,000 pesos (\$50,000,000) in 1918 to 17,000,000 pesos (\$8,500,000) in 1934.

Abaca is of indigenous origin. The Spaniards found the Filipinos cultivating the *abaca* plant for use in spinning and weaving. The fiber is the product of the plant which to the uninitiated is indistinguishable from the banana plant. Various regions, as the Bicol provinces on the southern end of the Island of Luzon, the Islands of Samar and Leyte, and portions of Mindanao, are especially adapted to the growth of *abaca*. Davao, a province of Mindanao, under the leadership of the Japanese leads in total output and in average production per acre. *Abaca* fiber for export is officially graded.

Abaca is admitted free of duty to the United States. However, the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law restricted importation of Philippine cordage to 3,000,000 pounds annually. The duty-free quota was doubled to 6,000,000 pounds by a special Congressional Act effective May 1, 1935, for a period of three years, with authority granted the President of the United States to extend the law for another three years. So *abaca* as a manufactured product occupies a relatively favored and sheltered position in the United

² Section read by Mr. Mariano Garchitorena, Manager, Fiber Inspection Service, Department of Agriculture and Commerce.

States. Also other markets, as Great Britain and Japan, are available.

But the good old days when Manila hemp was a world commodity, known to every skipper who sailed the briny deep, and to every farmer who harvested his grain, and when it was cock of the walk, will come no more.

THE RISE AND FALL OF PHILIPPINE SUGAR³

The 1933-1934 sugar crop of the Philippines totalled approximately 1,600,000 short tons, the largest in its history. Few persons realize that this innocent statement means that the Philippines stood fifth in the entire world in the production of sugar, being surpassed only by British India, Cuba, the United States, and Germany. By virtue of the crop-reduction program in the United States, however, the Philippines will not occupy so exalted a position as a sugar producer during 1934-1935 and later years. With the imposition of the full United States tariff a few years hence, the Philippine sugar industry will cease to exist. Thus the rise and fall of sugar.

The soil and climate of the Philippines are well adapted to the production of sugar. Reliable data disclose that sugar cane was cultivated nearly everywhere when the Spaniards entered the Islands. It is recorded that 132 tons of sugar were exported to the United States in 1795. The middle of the nineteenth century was a particularly prosperous period for the Philippine sugar trade.

The sugar industry fell away with the implantation of American sovereignty. Then came free trade with the United States; came American and other capital to raise and mill Philippine sugar; came government financing of sugar centrals after the establishment of the Philippine National Bank. Sugar flourished. The use of improved varieties of cane, and

³ Section read by Hon. Rafael R. Alunan, President of the Philippine Sugar Association.

more modern methods of cultivation and milling raised year by year the amount of sugar exported, almost entirely to the United States. Sugar overtook all other products to become the leading export. With abundant labor, adequate capital, and the advantage of free entry to the American market, attractive profits were made. Unthinkingly, the Philippine money eggs were placed all in one basket.

American farmers were aroused by the increasing competition offered by Philippine sugar to their domestic-raised sugar beets and sugar cane. American capitalists with large investments in Cuban sugar began to lobby against the Philippines. Eventually the Philippine Commissioners and their friends in Congress were forced to agree, in the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, to a quota of 50,000 long tons of refined sugar and of 800,000 long tons of unrefined sugar, to be followed after the expiration of the fifth year by the imposition of an export tax. Later under the Jones-Costigan Act a sugar quota of 1,015,185 short tons (slightly over 900,000 long tons), which subsequently was retroactively reduced to 1,005,602 short tons, was allotted the Islands for shipment to the United States in 1934. The 1935 quota for the Philippines as revised was reduced to 981,958 short tons. In respect to refined sugar the quota assigned the Philippines was placed at 79,661 short tons raw value.

The sugar problem for the moment is mainly one of crop reduction and control. The Governor-General was named the local representative of the United States Department of Agriculture. He fixed the Philippine sugar quota for 1935 at 694,606 short tons, divided as follows: export, 524,606, domestic consumption, 70,000, and emergency reserve, 100,000. For crop reduction, the planters are given benefit payments out of the processing tax collected in the United States to compensate them for their losses.

The sugar problem of the near future is no problem at all. With the American tariff wall raised against Philippine sugar,

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with local sugar consumption insignificant, and with no available purchasers elsewhere, the Philippines will face a glutted market. The fall of the sugar empire will be complete.

THE COCONUT ⁴

It is not generally realized that the Philippines occupies the first place among the producing countries of coconut oil, and is responsible for one-third of the world's supply of coconut oil. The coconut products include copra, the dried meat of the coconut, coconut oil derived from copra, copra meal, and desiccated and shredded coconut. The oil is used in the manufacture of soaps, vegetable butter, and lard substitutes.

The Philippines is one of the most naturally favored coconut producing countries in the world. The district surrounding the municipality of San Pablo, south of Manila, is one immense grove of coconut trees, approximately 2,500 square miles in extent. Within a radius of thirty miles of this municipality are more coconuts than in any other area of the same size anywhere. It has been estimated that one out of every three persons in the Philippines is dependent on the coconut industry.

The inoffensive coconut has had to bear the brunt of the same campaign which has been aimed at Philippine sugar. The dairy interests of the United States felt that coconut derivatives were unduly competing with American products. So the free entry of coconut oil was limited by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law to 200,000 long tons in any one year. As if this was not enough, a five-cent excise tax was later decreed by the Congress, which was alleviated considerably by sanctioning a two-cent preferential for Philippine coconut oil in contrast to other oils. State legislation aimed at the Philippine coconut industry has also affected it

⁴ Section read by Hon. Filemon Perez, President of the Philippine Coconut Planters Association.

adversely, as in the case of the tax of ten cents per pound of coconut oil and its by-products imposed in 1935 by the California Legislature.

With tariff limitations and excise taxes, not to speak of Philippine land taxes, and pests, diseases, and typhoons, the coconut industry has been in a bad way. Encouragement came in 1934-1935 in the form of a spectacular improvement in copra prices, due partly to the shortage of fats and oils in the United States and Europe and partly to the shortage of production in the Philippines. Another encouraging note is the fact that not all Philippine copra goes to the United States. France, for instance, in 1933, bought over nineteen per cent of Philippine copra exports.

THE LUSCIOUS MANGA

The Filipino, to give expression to his admiration for his favorite fruit, the mango, gallantly insists that it be called by the feminine, manga. Thus the manga is crowned queen of all Philippine fruits. And it is deserving of this universal homage. Nowhere else does the manga attain such size and excellence of flavor as in the Philippines.

The manga grows on a tree which is distinguished for its dignity and grace. The manga trees are of tremendous size, the mass of foliage being so heavy as often to break the trees down. When the trees line a road, as they do on the Manila North Road, they form a shapely domed bowl and furnish a deep shade. They will continue to bear fruit for as many as two hundred years. To own such a tree is financially profitable.

Among other common fruits in the Philippines are bananas, oranges, lemons, pineapples, papayas, chicos, lanzones, pome-los, mangosteens, and durians. Over seventy varieties of edible bananas are raised in the Islands. The oranges are green oranges and are not sweet like their American cousins.

Pineapples, mangoes, and some other fruits can be successfully canned. The mangosteen is a delicate and deliciously flavored fruit which is obtainable in Mindanao and Sulu. The malodorous durian, also a native of Moroland, is supposed to augment manly vigor, and to obtain it many a fight has been staged.

Little effort has been put forth to commercialize native fruits. The local markets are supplied, and that is about all. Mangoes are shipped to China, but canning factories have tried unsuccessfully to interest foreign buyers.

THE SAMPAGUITA, THE NATIONAL FLOWER

By common consent, the sampaguita has been the adored flower of the Philippines for ages past. Rosaries of this fragrant and immaculate flower have encircled the neck of many a black-eyed Filipina *señorita*. Recently by gubernatorial proclamation the sampaguita was made the national flower.

As is to be expected in a tropical country, the flowers are gorgeously beautiful. The orchids and ferns in the mountainous regions, the lotus in the low places, the poinsettias radiant at Christmas time, the *cadena de amor* (chain of love), a climbing vine popular for decoration, and the *dama de noche* (lady of the night), which opens its petals to laden the air with lovely fragrance but only at night, and many trees, shrubs, and plants give variety to the landscape and enjoyment to the people. The fire tree and the dapdap periodically burst into bloom in great bunches of scarlet.

Philippine flowers are not only capable of being admired, but have a commercial value as well. Quite a thriving business in the exportation of rare orchids was once carried on. The essence of certain flowers, as for instance the ilang-ilang, are used in the preparation of fine perfumes.

LANDS⁵

Only about one-seventh of the total land area of the Philippines is under cultivation. This bald statement tells the whole story of Philippine backwardness. The Philippines is an agricultural country, and its soil is fertile. Yet the greater portion of the national wealth lies unproductive.

The Bureau of Lands is charged with the duty of administering the public lands. That it has faltered in the efficient performance of its obligation has been asserted. In all fairness, it should be said in extenuation, that much of the difficulty has come from without—insufficient personnel, insufficient support, insufficient supervision. To a certain extent, the Bureau has helped in the development of the country, and in addition has of course performed its routine functions in the customary governmental way.

Homesteads containing twenty-four hectares (close to sixty acres) of public land are obtainable by complying with the law. Public agricultural lands can also be leased or purchased in limited amounts. One thousand and twenty-four hectares (2530 acres) is the largest amount that a private corporation can lease or purchase. In certain provinces, like Isabela and Nueva Ecija, considerable development of idle lands by homesteaders has been evident as roads have been constructed. The industrious Ilocanos have been in the vanguard in securing titles to unoccupied public lands.

Portions of the public lands have been set aside for governmental purposes. So far eleven areas have been declared national parks. Among these are the Forbes Forest Park in Baguio, the Quezon Forest Park in Tayabas, the Makiling National Park close to the College of Agriculture and the School of Forestry at Los Baños, the Roosevelt National Park, named after former Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., located along the road connecting the Provinces

⁵ Section read by Mr. Simeon Ramos, Director of Lands.

of Bataan and Zambales, and last but not least in importance, the Arayat National Park in Pampanga.

It would be for the good of the Philippines to have a wider distribution of its population, and this can readily be accomplished when a workable plan which will interest the Filipino people in the acquisition of homesteads has been devised and put into practical operation.

FORESTS ⁶

Compared with the forests of the great lumber-producing countries of the world, the Philippines ranks first in regard to the ratio of forest to total land area, and sixth in forest extent. Philippine forests cover over sixty per cent of the land area, and are found in all provinces and the larger islands. Their economic value conservatively estimated reaches nearly unbelievable figures.

The stand of hardwood timber in the Philippines is as fine as any to be found. In these forests appear vast numbers of stately and gigantic trees of great height. From them come the many varieties of wood for which the Philippines is famous. A trip to one of these forests cannot but be a source of wonder and delight.

The forests contain timber well adapted for general use. Narra of two shades, yellow and red, the latter sometimes called Philippine mahogany, is particularly alluring. Camagon (Philippine ebony) is durable and valuable. Molave, ipil, and apitong are favorite woods for structural purposes. Tanguile and the lauans are known abroad as Philippine mahogany and these woods constitute the bulk of the lumber export of the Philippines. Pine is found in the higher altitudes.

The Bureau of Forestry is in charge of the forest wealth of the country. It has wisely adopted a policy of conservation.

⁶ Section read by Mr. Arthur F. Fischer, Director of Forestry.

The forests are not sold but are developed under a lease system or exclusive concessions for stated periods. Forest reserves and national parks have been set aside and communal forests have been established.

The products of the sawmills of the Islands have found a ready market in the United States. There, however, Philippine lumber interests have had to fight to have Philippine tanguile and the lauans recognized as mahogany. Philippine lumber has also been brought under the American Lumber Code, and as was to be expected, the quota assigned the Philippines was much less than the 40,000,000 board feet annually sent to the United States. The outlook is not altogether discouraging, for there is a market for Philippine lumber in Japan, China, Australia, Africa, and Europe.

Before I bring this topic to a close, permit me to take you into a Philippine home and display to you the use to which Philippine lumber is put. The *sala* (reception room) has a floor of alternate strips of Philippine narra three feet or more in width and of Philippine ebony one foot in width. Polished as only a *muchacho* (boy) can polish floors on coconut husks or rags propelled by bare feet, the effect is most artistic and pleasing. The panels and ceiling of the room are of beautifully grained native lumber. A one-piece table nine feet in diameter is in evidence, for table tops this large are not uncommon. Antique pieces of Spanish furniture, really made by Filipino artisans of Philippine woods, complete the picture. The villain in the story is the white ant, or to give it the local name, *anay*, which is quickly destructive of wood and against which precautions must be taken constantly.

When you are in Washington, enter the main lobby of the executive office of the White House. There you will see an elaborately carved table made of Philippine hardwoods. The center-piece, which was made from one tree, the red narra, is nine and a half feet in diameter. Around the center-piece is a one-foot black border of camagon. This magnificent specimen

of Philippine art was presented by General Emilio Aguinaldo to the President of the United States.

THE GOLD BOOM ⁷

If a person had invested 5,000 pesos (\$2,500) in Benguet Consolidated stock along in 1912 or 1913 when the stock sold at twenty centavos (ten cents) a share, he would have received up to the end of 1934, dividends totalling 1,000,000 pesos (\$500,000), and his stock at market value would be worth another 1,000,000 pesos (\$500,000). In other words his 5,000 pesos (\$2,500) would have grown to more than 2,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000) by now. A substantial enough profit to satisfy any investor.

Benguet Consolidated of which I have spoken is a mining concern which operates near Baguio in the mountains of Northern Luzon. It also controls Balatoc (which means "gold" in the Igorot dialect), located nearby, and is expanding in other directions. In 1934, these two mines produced 18,000,000 pesos (\$9,000,000) of the Philippines' total of 23,000,000 pesos' (\$11,500,000) worth of gold. Benguet Consolidated is operating on a basis of eight hundred tons a day and Balatoc of twelve hundred tons a day. In 1934 Benguet Consolidated paid two hundred and seventy per cent in dividends; Balatoc paid two hundred per cent. These mines have been developed up to this point through the efforts of C. M. Eye, A. W. Beam, and John W. Haussermann. Mr. Haussermann is the President and General Manager of both companies, and as such is the outstanding leader of the gold-mining industry of the Philippines, which justly entitles him to his popular title of "Gold King of the Philippines."

The gold fever in the Philippines is no new thing. Whether or not, as has been affirmed, "Ophir," the country which sup-

⁷ Section read by Mr. A. F. Duggleby of the Benguet Consolidated Mining Company.

plied King Solomon with gold, referred to the Islands, we do not know. We do know, however, that Luzon in pre-Spanish times was called the "mountain of gold" or the "land of gold"; that the Igorots had for centuries before Magellan reached the Islands, carried on gold mining with good results, and that the Spanish *conquistadores* had been attracted by the fabulously rich gold mines of the Islands. Moro pirates also were attracted by the prize of gold and one story, fairly well substantiated, has it that Doña Panay, who sent a petition to the Queen of Spain asking protection against these pirates, accompanied her petition with a life-sized hen and a setting of eggs all of virgin gold. Only a few months ago, in developing the Balatoc Mine, Igorot workings were found at two hundred feet below the surface. Who taught the Igorots the value of gold and how to mine it is an unfathomed mystery.

The year 1933 witnessed another rush for Philippine gold. The Igorots, now on the defensive, went on the war-path when their rice fields were invaded. There was a spectacular stampede for mineral claims. Literally scores of mining companies were formed. As in all such booms, money was made and money was lost. Some of the companies proved failures. A few others are in the exploration or development stage and are likely to prove profitable ventures. An encouraging sign is that gold is found not only in the northern part of Luzon, but in the Province of Camarines Norte and other regions.

The mineral wealth of the Islands is not confined to gold. An iron deposit in Mindanao is estimated to contain 500,000,000 tons of ore. Coal is mined in different places; one seam of coal also in Mindanao is reported to contain 5,000,000 tons. The oil reserves have been partially explored and I have reason to believe that the Islands are rich in petroleum deposits. Mankayan copper in Luzon is valuable ore.

War material is not lacking in the Philippines. A manganese mine is in production. Millions of tons of high-grade, low-cost chrome ore are available. One chromite deposit in the

Province of Zambales bids fair to develop into the world's largest single deposit of that mineral and is indicative of a chromite-bearing belt extending through almost the entire length of the Islands.

Of all Philippine industries, gold-mining appears to have the best chance to become a basic industry and to furnish business stability. This does not mean that the Philippines can ever hope to displace the Witwatersrand region of South Africa as the chief gold-producing country in the world. That is not essential. But whatever happens to sugar, and copra, and hemp, someone will covet Philippine gold.

LABOR ⁸

As I write, the workers of the tobacco factories of Manila are on strike, and an effort is being made to declare a general strike. But the strike is not bound to succeed. Organization of the labor element is lacking. Public opinion is not with the strikers. Communists are endeavoring to foment trouble.

The prejudice against Filipino labor which capital early displayed has largely disappeared. Employers now concede that the Filipinos do their jobs satisfactorily. In the Hawaiian Islands Filipinos constitute seventy per cent of the field labor and are considered a sturdy group of workers.

Much of the result obtainable from the use of Filipino laborers depends on how they are handled. Treated fairly and firmly they cause no trouble. Treated with too much intimacy or roughly, the Filipino either becomes sullen or quits.

The Philippine Government has endeavored to be just to the proletariat. A separate Department of Labor affords full protection to laborers' interests. An eight-hour labor law, a workmen's compensation law, and various other laws have been enacted to give labor its due. The result is that coolie

⁸ Section read by Mr. Jose Figueras, Inspector General of Labor. See Ramon Torres, *A Review of Labor Developments in the Philippines* (1934).

labor is lacking, and that labor standards are on a more elevated plane than in other oriental countries.

Wages are much higher than in Spanish days. At the same time the cost of living has risen correspondingly. The high cost of necessities, plus a large family, plus non-employment, plus red fomentation are the factors which cause discontent among the masses.

The attempt to unionize labor is becoming more successful. The latest to organize are the farm laborers. The labor unions are loosely confederated into labor organizations. The leadership of these labor congresses is largely conservative, but there is a radical wing which is more and more asserting itself.

The strike that I mentioned simmered for six weeks on its way to inconclusive settlement. In one factory it was found that the laborers were striking to obtain lower wages than they were actually receiving. In another factory, the police assigned to protect it were assaulted by a mob, led by a communist who fled on the first sign of danger, leaving his followers to be routed, killed, and captured. But other strikes will follow. Labor will gradually gravitate into a radical party and will become bolder in its demands. On how well capital and the government can keep step with the march of the times, will depend the assurance of industrial peace.

THE RACE-CONSCIOUS CARABAO ⁹

To my knowledge no one has ever indited an ode to the carabao. Nor has anyone ever raised his voice in hosannas of praise of this animal. Yet the carabao, the same as rice, is symbolical of Philippine life.

The carabao or water buffalo is an ungainly animal, with well-formed, evenly set, and symmetrical spreading horns. He is built on ponderous battleship lines. His gait is slow, his gaze mournful. A daily mud bath he demands, and his care-

⁹ Section read by Dr. Victor Buencamino, Director of Animal Industry.

taker is careful to see to it that his carabao is permitted to perform his ablutions in muddy water. Like his master, the carabao is placid and easy-going. Slow as this beast of burden is, he performs an amazing amount of work. The carabao is more powerful than the horse and can move extraordinarily heavy loads on either a two-wheeled cart or sled.

Of all domesticated animals, the carabao is the most helpful and useful to the common *tao*. He is the indispensable beast upon which many families depend for a livelihood. Mr. and Mrs. Carabao are a source of food. The female of the species supplies the family with milk. Is it any wonder that the carabao should be considered the most prized possession of his owner, and the friend of the family? And is it not but fair that the carabao should be the recipient of anxious care?

Slow-moving under ordinary conditions and with an even temper, at times the carabao becomes excited and charges rapidly and ferociously. For some reason, he is imbued with race prejudice and resents the presence of white men. While a small Filipino urchin can easily control a carabao, the animal is suspicious of a white person and is more than likely to display his instinctive antipathy.

Besides carabaos, other domesticated animals, such as cattle, horses, mules, sheep, pigs, goats, common fowls, and dogs are raised in the Philippines. The Government has taken the lead in the development of the livestock industry of the country and such progress has been attained along this line that now the Philippines has become self-sufficient in the supply of live animals both for draft and meat purposes. The importation of work and beef animals has been stopped. Cattle-raising is successfully and extensively carried on in Bukidnon, Mindanao, and other regions. Sheep can be seen placidly grazing in the fields of the Ilocos and Mountain Provinces.

Rinderpest, once the scourge of carabaos and cattle, has been largely suppressed through quarantine and the use of rinderpest vaccine. Infected animals are isolated, and those

that have been exposed to infection are inoculated with vaccine specially prepared and manufactured in the Philippines. These precautions have to be taken to prevent mortality among carabaos and cattle, for it is upon their well-being that the development of the agricultural resources of the country in a large measure depends.

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC ORDER ¹

THE DEFENSELESS PHILIPPINES

IT will be noticed that the title to this chapter is "Public Order." Why not "Public Safety," or "Philippine Defense"? The reason is not far to seek. From the military viewpoint, the Philippines is defenseless.

Law and order are maintained by the Philippine Constabulary and the municipal police. American authority in the Islands is represented by the United States Army with eleven thousand men, of whom the majority are Filipino scouts, and by the Asiatic fleet of the United States Navy, which spends the winter season in Philippine waters. Plainly, small forces of this nature would be of slight value in the event of a major war. Excellent landings for an expeditionary force exist. Corregidor, which commands the entrance to Manila Bay, is a strongly fortified military base and was intended to be impregnable. The better opinion is that even this fortress, and Manila which it is supposed to protect, cannot be held against a hostile attack of any consequence from land.

The United States Army will remain in the Philippines until the Philippine Republic is proclaimed and then will be withdrawn. The Navy may retain a minor naval base in the Philippines, and a flotilla of its smaller craft in Asiatic waters. As a consequence, when the Philippines shall become independent, the defense of the Islands will be exclusively a problem of the Philippine Republic.

The Filipinos make good soldiers. A number of them

¹ This chapter was read by Brigadier General Basilio J. Valdez, Chief of Constabulary.

served gallantly in the World War. The first Filipino soldier reported killed in battle was Tomas Claudio, who has been suitably honored by his fellow countrymen. Fifty-six Filipinos lost their lives during the war while in the Navy. Splendid material for a Philippine army will be available in the scout soldiers who will be released from the United States Army and in the Constabulary soldiers.

Capable Filipinos have been trained at West Point and Annapolis. They have found careers in the Philippine Scouts. Lieutenant Colonel Vicente Lim in 1914 was the first Filipino to be graduated from West Point, and subsequently was the first Filipino to be graduated from the Command and General Staff School and the Army War College.

Alive to the responsibility of building up from nothing an adequate and satisfactory security system, the Congress authorized the assignment of a military mission to help establish the Philippine Commonwealth's defense plan. At the request of the President-elect of the Philippine Commonwealth, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, was detailed to advise the Commonwealth Government on military problems. No better choice could have been made because of General MacArthur's brilliant record, the sentiment connected with his being the son of a former Military Governor of the Philippines, and the respect in which he was held by the Filipino leaders.

The defense plan formulated by General MacArthur received the strong backing of the President of the Commonwealth, who made it the theme of his first message to the National Assembly. Envisioned was the Philippine Constabulary as the nucleus of a regular army and a citizen trained reserve large enough to make an invasion of the Philippines an expensive and difficult proposition.

The Philippines now constitutes a war liability to the United States and a hazard to the Philippine Commonwealth. When America departs, the Filipinos will have to depend on

a neutralization treaty or other pacific means for protection against aggression, and on such military forces as their resources will permit them to maintain.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY ²

In the early insurrectionary days the United States Army was forced to keep large bodies of men in the Philippines. After the control of the military ceased, no such necessity existed. In recent years the number of American troops in the Islands has been less than five thousand. In addition, there have been six thousand five hundred Filipino Scouts who form a part of the United States Army and the expense of whose maintenance is borne by the Federal Government. These troops, American and Filipino, constitute the Philippine Department which is commanded by a Major General. The soldiers are quartered in seven military garrisons, Fort Santiago and *Cuartel de España* in Manila, Fort William McKinley near Manila, Fort Nichols, the air base also near Manila, Fort Mills on the Island of Corregidor, Fort Stotsenberg midway between Manila and Baguio, Camp John Hay in Baguio, and Pettit Barracks in Zamboanga.

The Thirty-First Infantry is claimed as Manila's own because of having come into existence in the Philippine Department and because of having been stationed mostly in the Philippines—never in the homeland. The regiment saw service in Siberia during the World War. Again in 1932 during the flare-up between the Japanese and the Chinese in the Shanghai area, the regiment was transferred to Shanghai to provide protection for American lives and property.

The Filipino Scouts have been well trained by their Amer-

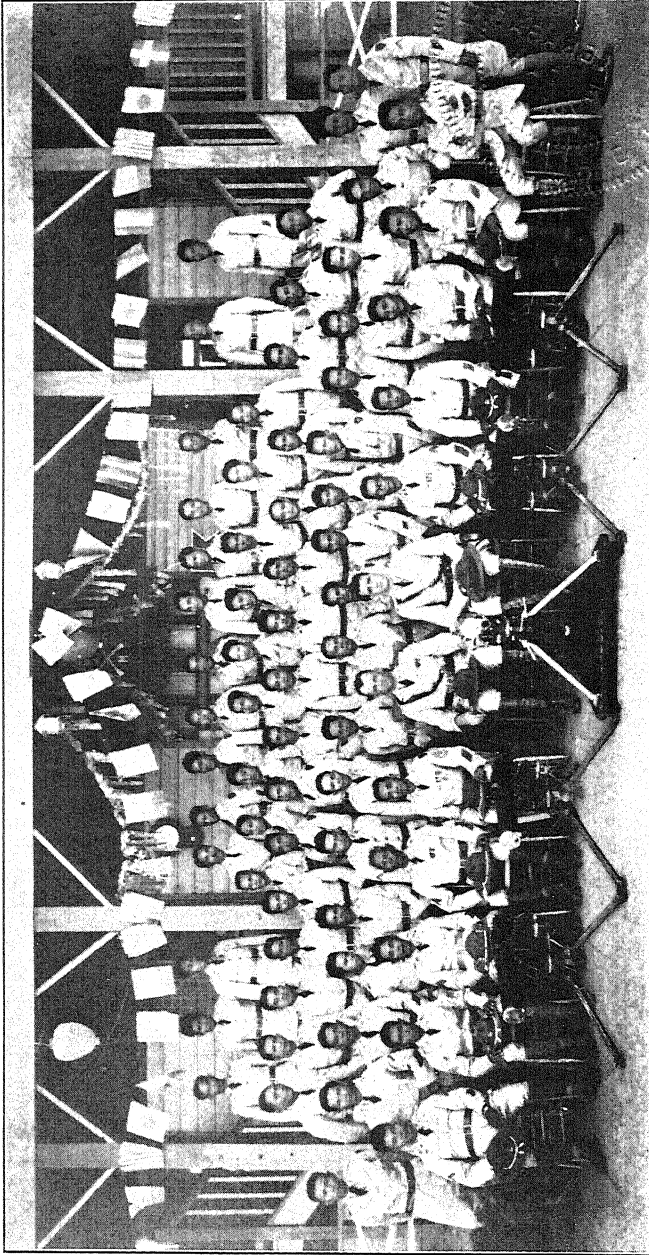
² It was intended to have this section read by the Chief of Staff, Philippine Department, but he stated that such action was prohibited under Army Regulations. However, a retired Army officer of high rank kindly performed that service. See Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (1917), Ch. VIII.

ican officers and by American-trained Filipino officers. The discipline and deportment of the scouts have often been favorably commented upon by their commanding officers. The scouts give excellent exhibitions at military reviews, and are expert marksmen. Recently the United States Supreme Court held that the scouts on retirement were eligible to receive Army pensions. So even if Philippine independence is granted, the United States will hold this thread of financial connection with the Philippines.

The Philippine station has always been of interest to the Army. Assignment to the Philippines for the two years tour of duty allowed by law has been sought by officers and has been welcomed by them and their families. The social life at the Army posts in the Philippines was alluring; in prohibition days the non-prohibition Philippines had its advantages, and fascinating China and Japan lay at the Philippine threshold.

The American officers who won renown for themselves and their country in the World War had mainly received their training in the Philippines. The Philippine Constabulary was a fine school for American Army officers. Action in Mindanao against the Moros also furnished valuable experience in the command of troops in the field. The names of these Philippine-educated officers who achieved distinction during the war reads like an Army register. To name a few of the many: Pershing, Bliss, Wood, Harbord, Liggett, Allen, Bullard, Hines, Bandholtz, Hersey, Traub, Nolan, Rivers, and McCoy.

The standard maintained by the Army in the Philippines has been high. No grave scandal mars that record. Except in its initial stages, Army policy has been to coöperate cordially with the civil authorities. Particularly good service has been given by Army men assigned to the staff of the Governor-General. The officers in the higher ranks have not been afflicted with race prejudice, and it has only been in the junior grades and among the feminine contingent that astigmatic



Official photograph, United States Army

COMPANY "M," 57TH INFANTRY, PHILIPPINE SCOUTS, UNITED STATES ARMY

Winner, Machine Gun Trophy, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933. First place, Howard Clark Trophy Test, Philippine Division, 1932; high score, Philippine Division, 1935, average, 337.2.

color lines have been drawn. An excellent example of what could be accomplished by military tolerance combined with military efficiency was furnished by General MacArthur, when he was in command of the Philippine Department.

THE UNITED STATES NAVY ³

The Navy has given two names to Far Eastern history: Perry, who opened Japan to the outside world, and Dewey, who brought the Philippines within the ken of America. Except for the young lieutenant in the opera *Madame Butterfly*, no such glamorous figures now parade before oriental eyes. There is no need. Unostentatiously the Navy does the job with creditable thoroughness.

Naval stations in the Philippines are maintained in Cavite, where the Spanish *comandancia* and arsenal still serve their purposes, and at Olongapo at Subic Bay, about fifty miles up the coast. Naval strategists have argued long over the advisability of giving up the latter base; in fact it was decided to do so, but at the last moment the idea was abandoned. The naval shore activities require the services of less than five thousand men, sailors, marines, and civilians. Most of the civilians employed by the Navy are Filipinos.

Some part of the Asiatic fleet is constantly in Manila waters. However, most of its activities are concentrated along the China coast. It is between November and March that the fleet makes its presence most felt in the Philippines. Headed by the flagship and followed by a retinue of submarines and destroyers, the fleet steams into Manila Bay to be received with open arms. Proverbially good spenders, the money put in circulation when the fleet is in speeds up business. From Felisa, the *bailarina*, to the Escolta business man, the American gob receives a warm welcome.

³ Section read by Rear-Admiral W. H. Allen, U. S. Navy, Commandant 16th Naval District, U. S. Navy Yard, Cavite. See Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (1917), Ch. VIII.

The Navy comes in closest contact with the people of Cavite and Olongapo. Its policy is like that of the Army, to coöperate and help. That the Navy has done according to its best traditions.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY ⁴

The Spaniards maintained a body of men in the Philippines to apprehend evil-doers known as the *guardia civil*, which was cordially detested. The problem confronting the American administration was to provide a police force to keep public order which, unlike the *guardia civil*, would not terrorize the people. The answer was found in the Philippine Constabulary.

The Philippine Constabulary is a general police force under military discipline. Fortunately, its duties have not been confined to policing the Islands. The Constabulary men have proved of the greatest assistance to the different branches of the government.

The strength of the Philippine Constabulary as recently increased is about nine thousand. An aviation unit is now a basic part of the organization. The Constabulary has been officered by Americans and Filipinos, but now has practically all Filipino officers. The Chief of Constabulary is Brigadier General Basilio J. Valdez, a Filipino doctor who served with the French Army in the World War, and who was previously the head of the Constabulary medical corps. The young officers are well trained at the Constabulary Academy in Baguio.

All in all the record made by the Constabulary is clean. Discipline has generally been maintained. The blackest mark on the Constabulary escutcheon was furnished by the riot in Manila in 1920, when Constabulary soldiers, under their non-commissioned officers, shot out their alleged grievances with the Manila police. It became my painful duty to sentence these misguided men, which I did by decreeing the death

⁴ See Major Emanuel A. Baja, *Philippine Police System and Its Problems* (1933), Parts I, II.

penalty for the non-commissioned officers, afterwards commuted to imprisonment by Governor-General Wood, and life imprisonment for the soldiers. The charge of third-degree methods has been laid at the door of the Constabulary, but except in isolated cases has not been proved.

The fame of the Constabulary has been recorded in other connections. The Constabulary Band is world renowned. The American chiefs and officers of the Constabulary constituted the backbone of the United States Army in time of war. In the performance of multitudinous, if less spectacular, functions, the Constabulary has proved itself no less a success. If politics can be kept from sapping the strength of the organization, the Philippine Constabulary can continue to be a valuable part of the Commonwealth Government.

THE MUNICIPAL POLICE⁵

Every municipality possesses a police force at the head of which is a chief of police. In numbers, the combined police forces are slightly less than the strength of the Philippine Constabulary; in other words there are about seven thousand municipal policemen. It is the duty of these policemen to keep the peace and to apprehend malefactors and this they do more or less successfully.

The merit system is supposed to be followed in the selection of policemen. In the two cities of Manila and Baguio, it has been, with the result that they have well-organized police departments. Elsewhere the police are all too often the victims of politics. The municipal president is prone to consider the police as his personal servants or agents. Occasionally conditions have become so rotten that the Governor-General has been forced to place specified municipalities and even whole provinces under Constabulary control.

⁵ See Major Emanuel A. Baja, *Philippine Police System and Its Problems* (1933), Part III.

Reformers have tilted their lances in favor of doing away with the present police system, but without obtaining a victory. The place for the police would be under some central authority, like the Constabulary.

CRIME ⁶

The control of crime in the Philippines has passed through three stages. First there was the initial period in the early days of American occupation, characterized by brigandage, head-hunting, and general lawlessness. Next followed years of peace, only broken by occasional Moro outbreaks. During this period the statement could truthfully be made that Manila residents had less to fear from criminals than the people of any city of any size anywhere, and that one could travel safely throughout the length and breadth of the archipelago. At present, during the third stage of criminal control, these statements still hold good, premised as they are on the undeniable facts that the Filipinos are peace-loving and respect constituted authority. The qualifications are that with civilization, unfortunately, arrived its hangers-on. In Manila, particularly, the gangster plies his trade of robbery and violence, not on the grand American scale, but at least in passable imitation.

Statistics disclose that the most prevalent crimes in the Philippines are those against property. The reasons for this are apparent. The Filipino's love of show, of pleasure, and of gambling, makes him free with other people's moneys. In this respect large corporations have not been blameless, for with criminal carelessness they have placed temptations before ill-paid and poorly trained clerks. The losses of banks through defalcations of trusted employees or through the accomplishment of forged documents have reached large figures. The

⁶ Section read by Colonel Paulino Santos, Director of Prisons. See Justice Ignacio Villamor, *Criminality in the Philippines* (1909), and Paulino Santos, *Information on Philippine Penal Institutions* (1933).

same criminal propensity has been disclosed to the annoyance of citizens through petty thievery.

Credulity and superstition are also important factors in criminology in the Philippines. *Colorums* (the mass-conducting priest would hardly recognize the *Secula Seculorum* of the Latin prayers, in this vulgar derivative) are fantastic near-religious sects which have sprung up here and there over the country. Impostors have headed these fanatical movements and have satisfied their greed and lust at the expense of ignorant followers. The *barrio* people have been easy victims of these fake prophets.

The Spaniards gave the Islands a Penal Code which even for its time was antiquated and which Spain has discarded in favor of more modern legislation. The code made of the law an arithmetical process. Given a certain qualifying circumstance, the crime was determined. Given so many aggravating circumstances, the penalty was increased. Given so many mitigating circumstances, the penalty was decreased. The judge had no discretion. The penalty for the higher crimes was denominated *cadena* (chains), as *cadena perpetua* (perpetual chains). Little by little the Spanish Penal Code has given way to more humane measures, such as a Revised Penal Code, an indeterminate sentence law, and a probationary system.

The Spanish penal system was as defective as its penal laws. The American forces liberated countless Filipino prisoners incarcerated for unknown crimes or still awaiting trials after years of delay. Dark dungeons were used and they are still to be found in the walls of Manila and in Bilibid, as I discovered when once I conducted an investigation of that prison.

The present penal system is far ahead of the one which it succeeded, as tested by the generally accepted principles of penology and as testified to by well-qualified prison experts. The system includes Bilibid Prison in Manila; the San Ramon

SAKDALISTAS ⁷

The biggest surprise of the 1934 elections was not the decisive defeat of Osmeña and Roxas by Quezon, for that had been anticipated by unbiased observers, but was the showing made by the *Sakdalistas*. Before the elections, even the name *Sakdalista* was unknown to the public. Then the election results were published and everyone was astounded to learn that the *Sakdalistas* had elected two representatives to the Legislature, a provincial governor, and a number of municipal officials.

A year later came another unwelcome surprise. Labor Day, which in the Philippines coincides with May Day, annually causes apprehension due to the fear of excesses. In 1935, that apprehension would naturally be expected to be increased because of the near approach of the date for voting on the Constitution, against which there was opposition. Yet officialdom was only conspicuous by its absence. A carefully prepared Sakdal plot to seize the Government by force broke out in riots at three points. Municipal buildings were seized, property was destroyed, private citizens were molested, and constituted authority was defied. Before the Constabulary could put down the revolt, over a hundred *Sakdalistas* and a few Constabulary men had been wounded and killed.

The *Sakdalistas* were organized by Benigno Ramos in 1930-1931. They found a splendid breeding-place in the grievances, justifiable and unjustifiable, of the people. The land question, which the authorities had sought to ignore, was originally at the bottom of the discontent. Just another

⁷ See interviews with Dean Conrado Benitez, delegate to the Constitutional Convention from La Laguna; *Sakdalista* Representative Aurelio C. Almazan, and Benigno Ramos, undisputed leader of the *Sakdalistas*, which appeared in the *Philippines Free Press* on July 21, 1934; and the article, "From Farce to Tragedy, a History of the Rise and Fall of Sakdalism," written by Salvador P. Lopez, Jose A. Lansang, and Jesus Ma. Intengan, which appeared in the *Philippines Herald* on May 11, 1935.

symptom of social maladjustment quite similar to that to be found in the farming districts of the United States.

It has been positively asserted that the *Sakdalistas* are communists and trouble-makers. The leaders of the movement as positively have denied the charge. The revolt of the *Sakdalistas* shortly after May Day in 1935, with its tragic outcome, constitutes indisputable proof of the treasonable purposes of the organization. Possibly the group can be classified as ultra-socialistic in its purposes. The *Sakdalist* platform⁸ is still in a nebulous state. As far as can be learned, the organization advocates immediate independence, not the independence of the Tydings-McDuffie Law; abolition of the cedula tax and revision of land taxes; reduction of salaries of highly paid officials; formation of a Filipino army of 500,000 men, and the teaching of the dialects in the schools and their use in the courts.

It was inevitable that the Philippine Islands have a radical party. That rôle was formerly played by the *Nacionalista* Party. Now as the *Nacionalista* Party embarks upon a program of economic planning, it will be on the defensive. I look for *Sakdalism* to spread, or for some other radically inclined group to take up the burden of the popular song. Let us hope that the growth of radicalism in the Philippines stops this side of Communism.

⁸ In a petition addressed to the Governor-General, dated April 29, 1935, the *Sakdalistas* of Tayabas set forth their purposes as follows: "We have severely criticized the administration of our government; we have denounced abuses committed by public servants; we have pointed out the appalling wastefulness in the disposition of the money collected from the taxpayers; we have condemned the light taxation of the properties of the rich and politically powerful, and the comparatively heavy taxation of property of the poor; we have pointed out that we are being fooled with such preachings as 'immediate, complete, and absolute independence'; we have denounced that our government officials are being unduly influenced by moneyed interests to the detriment of human rights; we have called attention to the fact that many of our public officers are growing richer and richer every day without being able to explain where so much money is coming from."

COMMUNISM IN THE PHILIPPINES ⁹

Communism exists in the Philippines, although in an embryonic stage. It would be strange if this were not so. Nearby is China, where that much harassed Republic has constantly to fight the communistic hordes. Nearby is Japan, where the Government is ever on the alert to repress any movement of the masses. Not far away are Siberia and the Union of Soviet Republics, where Filipinos have studied the principles of Bolshevism and Communism. The Philippine Proletariat Congress alone has a membership of around 20,000.

In March, 1935, the *Katipunan Ng Magbubukid* held a convention in a province near Manila. The Congress was attended by about one thousand peasants from all over the Philippines. Mostly they were dressed in red garments and waved red flags. During the convention it was revealed that its members have three main purposes in view: the rejection of the Philippine Constitution, the establishment of the Soviet form of government in the Philippines, and the inauguration of a countrywide strike.

Communism finds a virgin field for propaganda in the Philippines. Unemployed laborers in the commercial centers and discontented tenants on the large *haciendas* (plantations), who all too frequently are taken advantage of by unscrupulous landowners, are easy converts. The spirit of Communism has found a ready response in Manila and the central Luzon provinces, culminating in the spirit of revolt. Only in regions where the Filipino owns his little tract of land has the movement made no headway.

Philippine Communism no longer pretends to operate secretly. It has been this effrontery on the part of its leaders which has placed them behind prison bars. At its door is laid

⁹ See Major Emanuel A. Baja, *Philippine Police System and Its Problems* (1933), pp. 486 *et seq.*

strikes against capitalism in Iloilo and other places, and the Tanguan uprising of 1931 which aimed to overthrow the Government. Who is the Lenin of the movement is hard to say, but one of its leaders of more than ordinary intelligence is Crisanto Evangelista. It is generally believed that Filipino agents are financed from Russia.

Communism constitutes a major police problem for the Constabulary. It will constitute more than that in the future, if the Philippine Commonwealth does not take measures to improve the lot of the tenant class, and if the Government is not on the alert to wipe out revolt before it assumes too dangerous proportions.

CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC WELFARE

THE UNIVERSITY OF SANTO TOMAS AND THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS ¹

THE oldest university ever under the American flag is not Harvard in Cambridge but Santo Tomas in Manila. Hoary with age and tradition as Harvard is, Santo Tomas is by a quarter of a century the older. The Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomas, to give Santo Tomas its official title, was founded in 1611 by the Most Reverend Miguel de Benavides, third Archbishop of Manila. The University has had a continuous existence during all the years of Spanish and American control.

Conservatism, as possibly should be expected from a Catholic-founded school, has marked the career of Santo Tomas. It was established for the children of Spaniards only, but later admitted Filipinos. For some years after American occupation, Santo Tomas was not very enthusiastic about the new régime, and continued to make use of antiquated educational methods. Suddenly the Dominican fathers who constituted the faculties of Santo Tomas about-faced, revised their curricula, admitted women to their halls, and erected new buildings. The University is now modern in every way, and through its various colleges and schools affords splendid opportunities for Filipino youths to obtain religious and secular instruction. Many of the best-known Filipinos are graduates of Santo Tomas.

¹ Section read by Mr. Lino J. Castillejo, Superintendent of Private Schools and Colleges. See Official Bulletins of the University of Santo Tomas; and Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (1925), Part VII.

Prominence has been given to the University of Santo Tomas because of its age and standing. However, it is but one of hundreds of Catholic schools. Other boys' schools include Ateneo de Manila, De la Salle College, San Juan de Letran College, and San Beda College. The girls' schools include Santa Isabel (the oldest), Assumption Convent, Santa Escolastica College, Santa Theresa College, Holy Ghost College, and Saint Paul's Institution. Particular attention should be directed to the Ateneo de Manila because the Jesuits in control of that institution have ever been progressive and forward-looking, have unreservedly worked in harmony with the Government, and have given Filipino youths most excellent educations.

Nor are the private schools all in the hands of the Catholics. In Manila besides Santo Tomas and the State University are found five other universities, National University (coeducational), University of Manila (coeducational), Far Eastern University (coeducational), Centro Escolar University (mainly women), and the Philippine Women's University (women). Again, not all the private schools are located in Manila. Away down in Dumaguete, Oriental Negros, is found Silliman University, one of the five greatest mission schools in the world. Indelibly associated with the rapid growth of Silliman and its fine influence for good is the name of Dr. D. S. Hibbard, long president of the institute.

There is an unpleasant side to the private-school picture. Some schools are mere money-making enterprises. They exist for the benefit of their owners alone. Instruction is deficient and diplomas are easily obtainable. The Superintendent of Private Schools and Colleges wages a battle continuously against these private-adventure schools. Aside from these few unworthy participants in education, the other private schools constitute no unimportant part in the educational system of the Islands.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ²

In August, 1901, Manila capitulated a second time, and on this latter occasion to an army of teachers six hundred strong who arrived on the Transport *Thomas*. These pioneer teachers spread out over the Islands like an army of occupation and peacefully conquered the youth who were avid for education. Their advance-guard had been soldiers called from the ranks to teach, who, within three weeks after the capture of Manila, had opened seven schools in the city. The public-school system begun by the military was permanently established under Act No. 74, the School Law, enacted by the Philippine Commission. Thus the Philippine public-school system, combining the early background of Malayan and Latin culture and the democratic institutions of Anglo-Saxon education, came to be organized.

The public-school system is administered by the Bureau of Education. The office of the Director of Education is known as the General Office of the Bureau. This is the large central office from which the work in all of its branches is controlled and directed.

For purposes of administration, the field is divided into fifty-four school divisions, including the City of Manila, the Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, the Central Luzon Agricultural School, and the Philippine Nautical School, which are considered distinct divisions. Each school division is in charge of a division superintendent of schools or, in the case of the four special Insular Schools and the Division of City Schools, a superintendent. The division superintendent is the representative of the

² Section read by Mr. Gabriel Mañalac, Assistant Director of Education, who like the author does not agree with the harsh criticism of the public-school system in the Philippines. See the annual reports of the Director of Education, the Monroe Educational Survey of the Philippines (1925), the Joint Legislative Committee Report on Education (1926); and Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippine Islands* (1932).

Director of Education in his division, and all matters between the General Office and the school division are handled through him. He is responsible for carrying out the policies formulated by the General Office, and for the general organization, administration, and supervision of the school work in his division.

The executive control of the Bureau of Education is exercised by the Director, and the entire responsibility for the conduct of the school work rests directly upon him. He, in turn, holds his subordinates responsible. Theoretically, the powers of the educational director are tremendous: the disbursement of about thirty-two per cent of the annual appropriations of the Central Government, the development of educational policies for the entire school system under his jurisdiction, and the marshaling of thousands of teachers and more than a million pupils. In practice, however, the Director calls from time to time upon the men in the field for advice, and in matters of great importance, or when undertaking new general school activities, or when considering changes in the general program, the Director invariably calls upon his subordinates for criticism, suggestions, and advice.

In the hands of capable directors and assistant directors such as Atkinson, Bryan, Barrows, White, Crone, Marquardt, Escaler, Magee, Bewley, Albert, Osias, and Mañalac, the power lodged in the directorate has been used to the best advantage and to promote the welfare of the Filipino children. Fortunately, and properly, the administration of the Philippine public-school system has been relatively unaffected by the changes in the political administration of the country; and, irrespective of any shifts in the Federal administration from Republican to Democratic or in the Filipino participation from an Osmeña to a Quezon leadership, Dr. Luther B. Bewley, the present Director of Education, has occupied this position for the last sixteen years undisturbed by such developments. Whatever occasional attacks have been made on

the system have only served to bring out the general excellence of the administration of the Philippine public schools and to strengthen the faith of the people in it.

The seven thousand public schools are staffed by twenty-seven thousand teachers.³ The *primary* schools give a four-year course providing instruction principally in English, simple arithmetic, geography, social and elementary science, character and health education, the rudiments of some useful occupations, informal games, and organized play and athletics. The *intermediate* schools give three years of additional instruction, including a general course and one or more somewhat specialized vocational courses. There are also schools on the *secondary* level which offer a *regular* course of four years, classified into: (a) Academic, (b) Agricultural, (c) Commercial, (d) General, (e) Home Economics, (f) Normal, and (g) Trade; and Special Insular Schools which offer courses on the Junior College level, namely, the Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, and the Philippine Nautical School. It is apparent, therefore, that the training in the public schools is well diversified, with proper emphasis placed on the vocational aspects of education, such as agricultural and industrial, and on home economics, as well as on the academic subjects. The Central Luzon Agricultural School at Muñoz, Nueva Ecija, is the best known of the agricultural schools and is adequately equipped to give practical instruction. The physical and moral development of the children has also not been neglected, since character education, physical culture, and health education form a regular part of the school curriculum.

The legislative body has provided very generously for the public schools. The first Act passed by the Philippine Assembly in 1907 appropriated 1,000,000 pesos (\$500,000) for the building of rural schools. Another outstanding legislative enactment set aside 30,000,000 pesos (\$15,000,000), the

³ Figures are of January 1, 1935.

larger portion of which was made available for the operation and extension of the elementary schools. The regular annual expenditures for educational purposes total over twenty per cent of all insular, provincial, and municipal income.

Filipino youth has responded magnificently to the call for education. Enrolled in the schools, public and private, are 1,300,000 pupils. Manila has approximately as many people as Seattle but has more children in the schools than that city.

These cold figures do not tell half the story. Filipino parents make all kinds of sacrifices so that their children may be educated. Juan in the field and his good wife Maria in the house may be putting away in a bamboo tube a peso today and two pesos tomorrow to send to Juan, Jr., in the big city, who is studying to be a *médico* (doctor). The pity of it all is that strain as much as the Government may to obtain more money to devote to education, and save as much as parents may to educate their offspring, there still remain out of school another million children of elementary school age.

Filipino children make good students. At this point recall the handicap they are under. First they must learn to read, write, and speak a foreign language before they can proceed with their studies. Notwithstanding this tremendous obstacle, Filipino boys and girls are ambitious to learn. So long as the Filipino pupils are able to find justness and firmness in their teachers, they show better discipline than American children. In intelligence the Filipino students compare favorably with any other nationality.

Opinions differ widely and radically on whether the public-school system of the Philippines has proved to be a failure or a success. Those inclined to the former view ⁴ have pointed out that the average length of attendance in school is less than three years, and that eighty-two per cent (it should be seventy-six per cent) of the pupils do not go beyond the

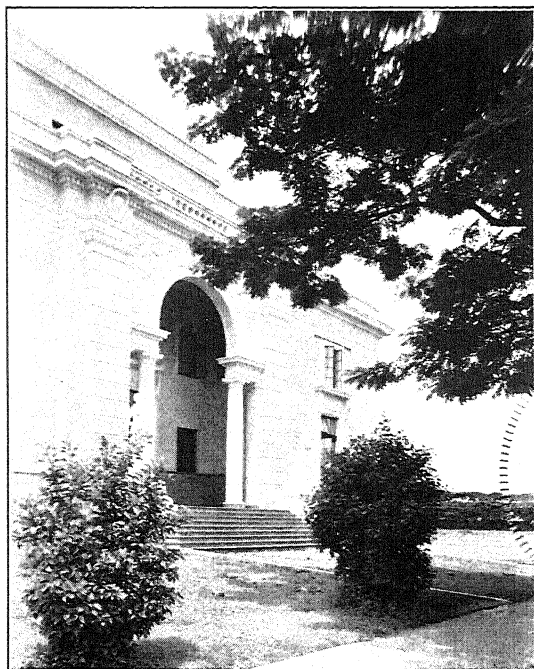
⁴ As typical of this view, see Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Philippines, a Treasure and a Problem* (1926), pp. 190, 191, 200, 201.



Bureau of Education photograph

TYPICAL SCHOOL BUILDING, TANAUAN, LEYTE PROVINCE

While the Constitution did not follow the Flag, the schoolhouse did.



Rialto Studio

**VILLAMOR HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE PHILIPPINES**

Newest of the buildings; used by the School of Fine
Arts and the Conservatory of Music.

fourth grade. This large portion of the school population, according to these unkind observers, stay only long enough in classes not to learn anything. Again, the mechanical-like method of instruction has been severely condemned. Critics have expressed themselves as profoundly dissatisfied with the work which the Bureau of Education is doing, for the reason that it tends to provide a horde of social parasites only fitted to be government clerks. Finally, the tempers of good people have been visibly excited over the neglect of religious training in the schools.

When President Eugene A. Gilmore of the University of Iowa was Secretary of Public Instruction and Vice Governor, he apparently had misgivings about the educational system which operated under his supervision. Accordingly, acting in accordance with the request of the Director of Education and authority granted by the Philippine Legislature, he sought expert advice. In 1925 there arrived a Commission of American pedagogical experts under the direction of Dr. Paul Monroe of Columbia University, a schoolman with an international reputation. The Commission made a survey of Philippine education and found things to praise and to condemn. As a result of the recommendations to the Bureau of Education made by this Commission, the supervisory staff of the General Office has been materially increased, studies on child accounting have been conducted, nation-wide standard tests have been administered, and the curriculum has been revised. A subsequent visit by Dr. Charles A. Prosser of the Dunwoody Institute of Minneapolis, who was asked to make a study of vocational education in the Philippines, gave new impetus to the program of vocational education. In 1935, a Quezon-created Educational Survey Committee, presided over by President Jorge Bocobo of the University of the Philippines, laid the groundwork for the determination of educational policies for the Philippine Commonwealth.

A complete answer to many of the aspersions cast on the

Bureau of Education is that the same reflections apply as well to education in the United States, and that actual conditions in the Philippines warranted the policy which was carried out. Educators and public men of various nationalities who have visited the Islands have repeatedly and enthusiastically praised the educational system of the Philippines. Typical of such commendation is that of Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, President of the First Philippine Commission and President of Cornell University, in an address delivered not long ago at the national Capitol, when he declared that "The public-school system of the Filipinos compares favorably with that of other nations; its development and expansion in three decades has excited universal wonder." Dr. Paul Monroe, who ought to know whereof he speaks, in 1935 echoed a similar sentiment when he said, "The present system of education in the Philippines is one of the best in the world." One is inevitably led to think that the American and Filipino educators have done a mighty good job, that the students generally constitute a fine body, that the teachers deserve praise for the sacrifices they have made and for the splendid work they have done, and that the United States and the Philippines can jointly take pride in the Islands' educational system.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES ⁵

The capstone of Philippine education is the University of the Philippines. In organization the University conforms generally to the plan followed by the State universities. The governing body is a Board of Regents partly appointed by the Chief Executive and partly elected by the University alumni. At the head of the University is a University President who, however, does not preside over the meetings of the Board of

⁵ Section read by Hon. Jose Romero, Chairman of the Committee on Public Instruction of the House of Representatives and member of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines. See Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippine Islands* (1932), Ch. XXI.

Regents. The faculties are those of agriculture and forestry in Los Baños, and in Manila of medicine, pharmacy, liberal arts, education, business, engineering, law, veterinary science, music, and fine arts. The University has branches in Cebu and Vigan. The student body has numbered (1930-1931) eight thousand, but the enrollment now is less than six thousand.

The University of the Philippines has been the target of attacks, some deserved and some not. In public estimation, no University President has proved to be a success. All the University heads have been glad to retire to more congenial and less exciting labors. The prime reason for the constant criticism of the University has undoubtedly been the wrong location of the University in the center of Manila, the close association of the faculty members and the students with contemporary politics, and the seemingly unavoidable injection of outside influence in the University. At the time of the approval of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act by the Congress of the United States, the University of the Philippines was divided into two political camps, one militantly *Pro* and the other as aggressively *Anti*.

Individual professors in the University of the Philippines have been responsible for original researches of great value. A majority of the students have made the most of their opportunities, but a minority have fallen prey to bad influences in the city and have squandered the money of their parents. The University alumni number graduates who occupy high positions in the Government and are important figures in private life.

The University of the Philippines possesses a magnificent physical plant. Its buildings are permanent in structure and artistic in design. However, until the scientific output of the University begins to approach the equipment in quality and quantity, the University will not be an unqualified success.

The President of the University is Dr. Jorge Bocobo, who was elected to the position in August, 1934. He has not been

long enough on the job for one to form an estimate of his stewardship. His educational qualifications are excellent and his administration of the University College of Law was beyond criticism. I brought President Bocobo into the University fold in 1911 as a lecturer on law, and in 1917 he succeeded me in the Deanship of the College of Law. Naturally I wish him well.

It may be that those in authority have learned from sad experience of the defects in the University of the Philippines and have provided it with the firm leadership needed to make the University assume the place it should occupy. Let us hope so. Otherwise the State University will follow a vacillating course plunging it into an abyss marking educational failure.

ENGLISH AND THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM ⁶

The Filipinos have a flair for languages, and are natural polyglots. The truth is every educated Filipino is compelled by circumstances to be a linguist. Commonly he needs and uses three languages—English, Spanish, and his dialect. He requires a knowledge of English for business, governmental work, and intercourse with Americans, Europeans, Japanese, and others. He requires Spanish for social functions, legal activities, and communications with Spaniards and *mestizos*. His dialect comes to him from his parents and is used in his home, in conversation with his neighbors, and in political campaigns.

The Filipinos, as history shows, were possessed of a written language before the coming of the Spaniards. The difficulty then was that there was no national unity, and this meant the propagation of numerous dialects. As many as eighty-seven dialects are spoken in the Islands, while the number of ethnological groups is about twenty-seven. The most important

⁶ Section read by Professor Francisco Benitez, Dean of the College of Education, University of the Philippines. See the Monroe Educational Survey of the Philippines (1925), pp. 24 *et seq.*, 127 *et seq.*

dialects are Tagalog, Visayan, Ilocano, Bicol, Pampango, and Pangasinan. All are chiefly of Malay origin, which means that while the user of one dialect is unable to understand the user of another dialect, it is easy for them to pick up dialects other than their own. The dialects are no longer pure, for in them have been incorporated Sanskrit, Chinese, Spanish, and even English words.

Because of linguistic difficulties, it has been necessary for the people to make use of a foreign language as a common medium of intercourse. Formerly this language was Spanish, now it is English. The American Government from the beginning declared English to be the basis of education and organized a comprehensive public-school system for the purpose of making it the national language of the Islands. English was used from the first in the executive departments. The development of English as a court language was retarded when special consideration was shown the Spanish-speaking members of the bar, but nevertheless it is an official language of the courts and is steadily gaining ground there. In the Philippine Legislature some time elapsed before any English was spoken in the deliberations, but now it is not uncommon for English and Spanish to be used interchangeably in speeches delivered in the legislative body.

Many more Filipinos use English than Spanish, and English, it is admitted, is fast supplanting Spanish. It has been estimated that English is now understood and spoken by more than a million Filipinos, and that Manila alone has more than one hundred thousand inhabitants speaking English. A teacher in the Province of Cagayan (Esteban A. de Ocampo) learned by issuing a questionnaire to students representing most of the towns in the province that seventy-two per cent of the students read English with more facility than they do the dialect, that ninety-one per cent of them prefer to write letters in English, and that sixty-eight per cent of them carry on conversations with their friends in English. Notwithstanding these conclu-

sions, English is not and probably never will be the language of the Filipino home.

One of the most serious problems of education in the Philippines is the question of the medium of instruction in the schools. The Americans selected English for the schools and have steadfastly adhered to that policy. The Dutch in nearby Java are great advocates of the use of the native dialects. Filipino educators sharply disagree among themselves. It is urged by many Filipinos that the language of instruction should be the vernacular. Having arrived at this point, the advocates of the dialects divide. Some hold that Tagalog is best developed and fitted to be the national language for the whole Philippine Archipelago. Others argue that the dialects should be amalgamated into one native language. As against both groups, stand the intrenched hosts of English, officered at different times by such eminent men as Presidents Taft and Wilson, various Directors of Philippine education, Apolinario Mabini and Dr. Tavera, Filipino thinkers of the past, and many young leaders, the products of the public schools of the present.

The English used by the Filipinos is sufficiently clear to make themselves understood. But it is a type of spoken English that is unlike that heard in the United States. As reported by the Monroe Educational Survey, Filipino English has "an accent, tonal expression, and rhythm that are thoroughly Malay." However, that finding furnishes no basis either for criticism or ridicule. If the language of the Filipinos in whatever form is sufficiently English to furnish a common medium of understanding, the public interests will be served.

The future of English in the Philippines is problematical. The Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law requires the establishment and maintenance of an adequate system of public schools, primarily conducted in the English language. The Constitution of the Philippines merely sanctions a trilingual compromise among those who favor Eng-

lish, or Spanish, or a dialect, as the national language. When relations with the United States are partially severed, my guess is that the teaching of the dialects in the primary grades will be tried out. It is further my belief that at the end of the ten-year transition period, English will have been so firmly implanted in the Islands as a national language that the Filipino leaders, following the line of least resistance, will automatically continue its use.

HEALTH ⁷

The triumph of American medical science over nature is known to all in the construction of the Panama Canal. The victory over disease was as complete in the Philippines, but has been not so well advertised to the world. Let me give you the highlights of the story.

Sanitary conditions in the Philippines were deplorable at the time of the American occupation. The death-rate was so high that the population was at a standstill. Smallpox was regularly carrying off thousands of persons. Asiatic cholera came in epidemic waves and was much feared. Infant mortality reached an enormous figure. The City of Manila, the capital and metropolis of the archipelago, possessed no sewerage system and was encircled by a moat among a network of canals, all of which were filled with half-stagnant water and sewage wherein bred countless numbers of mosquitoes. In all the archipelago there was not one modernly equipped hospital.

Then Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Passed Assistant Surgeon, United States Public Health and Quarantine Service, was named Director of Health. He occupied the two positions of Chief Quarantine Officer and Director of Health from 1905 to 1915. Even after leaving these posts, Dr. Heiser, as visiting

⁷ Section read by Dr. Jacobo Fajardo, Director of Health. See Dr. Robert W. Hart, formerly Chief Quarantine Officer of the Philippine Islands, *The Philippines Today* (1928), pp. 28, 29.

director of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, kept in contact with Philippine health conditions. Dr. Heiser above all else was an efficiency expert. He developed a health organization which transformed the Philippines, formerly a plague spot, from the health standpoint, into the best sanitated country in the Orient. Dr. Heiser, my chief in the Bureau of Health, never saw much in me, his humble clerk, but I looked on in wonder at his capacity for long and fruitful work and at his genius for organization. He was succeeded by Dr. John D. Long, Dr. Vicente de Jesus, and the present Director, Dr. Jacobo Fajardo.

In contrast with the past, the Philippine Archipelago of the present is one of the healthiest countries in the Far East, surpassing in this respect China, India, and the Strait Settlements, and rivaling Japan. The Philippine sanitary system constitutes a model for the Orient. Manila has recently been provided with a water system which is not excelled in purity by that of any other city in the world. Virulent epidemics, particularly diseases found in the tropics and the Orient, have here been stamped out. Cholera, that dread disease which formerly swept away thousands, is now almost unknown. Smallpox, similarly dreaded, through universal vaccination has been checked; during 1931 but one lone case was registered.

The birth-rate in the Philippines is about thirty-eight per one thousand and the death-rate about twenty-two per one thousand. This means that the present birth-rate in the Islands compares favorably with that of any part of the Orient. Unfortunately, infant mortality in the Philippines is appallingly high, in fact higher than in other countries, barring China; of the 440,000 babies born each year in the Philippines, 65,000 die before they reach the age of one year. Nevertheless it is heartening to note that this infant-mortality rate has dropped radically since 1904, to be more exact over sixty per cent. The death-rate in the Philippines is lower than

for many oriental countries, is equal to most Latin countries, but is higher than Anglo-Saxon countries.

Hospital facilities are available in all parts of the Islands. In Manila is the Philippine General Hospital, conceded to be the best-equipped hospital in the Orient. Near Manila is the sanitarium for tubercular patients, which is receiving strong governmental support, and the psychopathic hospital for the mentally diseased. Hospitals are also found in many of the provinces. Add to these hospitals the private ones and the care taken to control disease can better be understood.

Wonderful as the results have been, much work lies before the medical authorities. Tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid, and other diseases continue to take their deadly toll. Babies die because of beri-beri due to maternal malnutrition. Intestinal parasites sap the strength of thousands of Filipinos.

The care-free life of the Islands is conducive to longevity. Every once in a while the death of a man or a woman one hundred years of age, one hundred thirty-two years of age, and so on, is reported. Some of these cases have been proven to be authentic. They go to show that if persons born in the Philippines can be properly nurtured at birth, and thereafter can avoid epidemic diseases, they are placed under ideal conditions which permit them to live to ripe old ages.

All in all, the protection for health afforded in the Philippines through the initiative of American officials and the co-operation of Filipino officials can be said to be one of the greatest accomplishments, possibly the most notable accomplishment, of the last three decades.

UNCLEAN, UNCLEAN ⁸

So cried frightened people in Biblical times at the unfortunate lepers. Thus stigmatized have been fellow creatures set

⁸ Section read by Dr. H. W. Wade of the Leonard Wood Memorial for the Eradication of Leprosy, formerly Chief Pathologist, Cullion Leper Colony.

apart to die in all ages and lands. In the Philippines, the name leper has been sufficient to send fear to the hearts of everyone. For the Filipinos have been as seriously afflicted with leprosy as most other peoples among whom the disease is prevalent. One leper to every thousand of the inhabitants is a condition to cause apprehension in any race.

In Spanish times, lepers along with the insane were confined in San Lazaro Hospital at Manila; that is, some of the outcast lepers were confined there. Most of the lepers were left to roam about the country. The evil reputation of San Lazaro came from the nature of the inmates which it housed. Then the Americans came and recognized the imperative need of attacking leprosy.

Culion, an isolated island on the edge of the China Sea, was selected for a colony as early as 1901, by Dean C. Worcester. The colony was opened five years later. Dr. Heiser and others went about the Islands in a "leper ship," collected the active cases, and placed them in the care of trained physicians and nurses in Culion. This task was done as a part of the day's labor in as kindly a manner as possible, but it was a tragic task. In spite of many difficulties in the work, Culion Leper Colony grew to be the largest of its kind in the world.

In the course of time a method of treatment was developed that gave definite benefit, and it was introduced at Culion in 1921. When Governor-General Wood, who himself had been a physician, came to the Islands late that year, he took a deep personal interest in this work, and under his administration the staff of doctors and nurses was greatly increased and a few research workers were sent to the colony. He frequently visited the place, and these visits and the improvement of conditions that followed gave moral support to inmates and encouragement to those who were to advance scientific knowledge of the disease. To many who were already there Culion became the Island of Hope.

But this was not enough. New victims of the disease still



Courtesy Philippines Free Press

SISTER CALIXTA

French nun who labored among the lepers of the Culion Leper Colony for twenty-nine years. In the background the image of the Christ to whom she dedicated her life.

resisted detection and transfer to the colony. Governor-General Wood approved a plan to liberalize the system through the establishment of regional leprosaria, where suitable cases could be kept within reach of their families. He also endorsed an appeal to the American public, made by Dorothy Paul Wade, for a special fund to intensify research and in this way extend the great work carried on by the Government. When Governor-General Wood died, before either plan had materialized, this fund was fittingly made a memorial to him. Nearly 4,000,000 pesos (\$2,000,000) was collected, and since then the Leonard Wood Memorial has contributed materially to the work. With a part of the fund, given for the purpose by an admirer of Wood, there was built at Cebu the Eversley Childs Treatment Station, said to be the most attractive leprosarium in the world. There over eighty per cent of new admissions are now voluntary, and many of them are early cases, with good prospects of cure.

Every year several hundreds of patients from Culion and the regional treatment stations are returned to their homes free from symptoms of active disease, presumably "cured." In special skin clinics at several places hundreds of supposedly non-infectious cases are treated as out-patients, without serious interference with their normal lives, and as a consequence most of them never have to be isolated. Even the segregated cases too advanced to be cured are afforded relief. The doctors and nurses engaged in this work of the Government, all of them Filipinos, and the French and Filipino nuns and others who help them, are making real sacrifices for these unfortunates, and the work on the whole is without parallel anywhere. Step by step advances are being made toward the solution of the leprosy problem, one of the most baffling in medical science, and the Philippines is contributing a major share. This work in leprosy alone would justify American occupation of the Islands.

SOCIAL SERVICE ⁹

The tendency of the Filipinos has been for relatives and neighbors to extend help for the needy and to look to a paternalistic government to carry on social service on a larger scale. The incentive for organized private help has come mostly from the American residents of the Philippines.

The government possesses a well-coördinated organization to assist public welfare. The Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Health are important factors in help afforded the people. But most of the agencies for social betterment are united under the Bureau of Public Welfare. Dependent, delinquent, and needy children are housed in specially planned institutions. Welfareville, a little city to help the unfortunate, is located close to Manila.

Of private agencies for social work, there should be mentioned the Women's Clubs, the Associated Charities, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, and the Philippine Chapter of the American Red Cross. Comes a typhoon laying waste a town, comes a fire leaving residents homeless, comes any kind of calamity, and the agents of the Philippine Red Cross are there to succor and to help. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals tries to the best of its ability to see that animals are not abused.

The contact of American men with Filipino women, sometimes legitimate but more often clandestine, has presented a problem in the upbringing of the offspring of such unions. The father, a careless American soldier or sailor, and the mother, a Filipino woman of the lowest class, the child had little chance if left unaided. These American *mestizos* (half-bloods) are found scattered over the Islands. American residents saw a duty to be performed in caring for these fatherless, and for all intents and purposes, motherless children. Accordingly, the American Guardian Association was formed. With

⁹ Section read by Dr. Jose Fabella, Commissioner of Health and Welfare.

the limited funds at its command and with the assistance of church authorities, like Archbishop O'Dougherty of the Catholic Diocese of Manila, these young orphans are being properly trained.

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGION

PAGANISM ¹

THE people of the Philippines are predominantly Roman Catholics in religion. Close to eighty per cent of the entire population adhere to this faith. The Independent Filipino Church, composed of the Aglipayanos, accounts for another ten per cent, the Mohammedans for four per cent, the Protestants for a little over one per cent, and the rest are pagans.

The primitive religion of the Filipinos was Anism, a sort of ancestor worship. Then arrived the banner of Islam and it swept triumphantly over the Islands of Mindanao and Sulu to the south. The spread of Mohammedanism was stayed by the coming of the Spaniards, who baptized the people *en masse* as Catholics. After the Philippine Revolution the schism from Rome of the Independent Filipino Church occurred. Finally, with the American flag came the Protestant missionaries. That is a tabloid sketch of religious history in the Philippines.

But we were to speak more precisely of paganism. The early Filipinos were in their way intensely religious. They worshipped the souls of departed ancestors represented by *anitos* (idols). They believed in fates and were fond of myths and whispered stories. They were full of taboos and superstitions. Their most omnipotent God, if one may use the word reverently in this connection, was called by the Tagalogs "Bathala" and by the Visayans "Lauon." That the religion of

¹ Section read by Dr. H. Otley Beyer, Head of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of the Philippines.

these early Filipinos did not satisfy their spiritual hunger was shown by the ease with which they yielded to Mohammedan and Catholic missionary effort.

Pagan beliefs still exist but to a steadily lessening degree. Even under the veneer of Mohammedanism and under the pageantry of the other religions, superstition is to be found. Every sign foretells that this or that will happen. The *aning-aning* (talisman) of medallions or amulets with pictures of saints is carefully guarded because thought to endow its possessor with god-like attributes.

MOHAMMEDANISM ²

Mohammedanism was introduced into the Philippines over five centuries ago. In 1380 there came from the Moluccas to Sulu one Makdum, a noted Arabian judge, who was very successful in gaining adherents to the Mohammedan religion. Raja Baguinda and Abu Bakr continued the work of their predecessor and gave further impetus to the growth of Mohammedanism in the Sulu Archipelago. Then to the great Island of Mindanao went the conqueror, Shariff Mohammed Kabungsuwan, who claimed to be a descendant of the prophet Mohammed, to convert the people there. Only the timely arrival of the Catholic priests on the scene blocked the onward and upward march of Islam through the Philippines. The adherents of Mohammedanism, now called Moros, form a respectable part of the Philippine community and offer a problem in assimilation and attraction.

The Mohammedan Moros are a compact unit and to this day have withstood all attempts at conversion to Christianity. They resent bitterly any intrusion into their religious practices and are extremely sensitive to any slur, real or fancied, on their faith. This is not because the Moros have any real

² Section read by Hadji Butu. See Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (1905).

knowledge of religion, but is because what little religion they have they stick to fanatically. The prohibitions of pork and alcoholic beverages are generally observed. So also do the men claim the right to have plural wives. The fanaticism of the Moros is most feverishly displayed when one of their number becomes a *juramentado* or runs *amuck*, killing promiscuously everyone in his way.

The spiritual head of the Moros in Sulu is nominally at least the Sultan of Sulu. Elsewhere the other sultans and datus retain considerable power over religious questions. Quite a number of Moros have made the journey to Mecca and like former Senator Hadji Butu, the most learned of them all in Mohammedan law, use the title of "Hadji."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH ³

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines is closely interwoven with the secular history of the Philippines. When Magellan, in his heroic effort to sail around the world, came to Cebu, the wife of King Hamabar was the first member of a long line of Filipino royalty to be baptized a Catholic. When the equally notable expedition of Miguel de Legaspi and Andres de Urdaneta arrived from Mexico in Cebu, the niece of Tupas, a petty ruler of Cebu, was made a Catholic. Wholesale baptisms occurred, and the conversion of the Filipinos in the years following Legaspi's arrival is an achievement without a parallel in history.

The dignitaries of the Church in the Philippines exercised incalculable influence, and their power on occasion was even greater than that of the Spanish Governors-General. Of the religious orders, the Augustinians, the Augustinian Recolletos, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits, were represented in the Philippines. The Church, and with it some of

³ Section read by Father Henry C. Avery, S.J., Rector of the Ateneo de Manila.



Star Studio

MONSIGNOR GABRIEL M. REYES, ARCHBISHOP OF THE DIOCESE
OF CEBU

Who at the age of forty-two became the first Filipino archbishop.

the religious orders, in time acquired by state grant or pious legacy large and valuable estates for mission work. Churches and convents, well constructed and situated, sprang up throughout the Islands.

Much was done by the priesthood for the moral and intellectual development of the people. The reverend parochial priest played an important part in practically every branch of the municipal government and in the lives of the people. In many municipalities the memory of some good *padre*, truly a father to his flock and their kind benefactor, is still cherished. To the everlasting credit of the Catholic Church stands the conversion of practically an entire people and a conscientious effort to supply that people with the Christian religion and to better their conditions in many and varied ways.

In the course of time it cannot be gainsaid by anyone that the friars as a class became unpopular. Exactly what the causes of this antagonism were, need not be gone into in detail, but probably the bitterness arose largely because of the priests becoming the symbols of foreign domination with real or imaginary oppression. Also what has been described as the "vexed and delicate question" of the morality of the friars need not detain us, except to observe that it would be strange if in a far country like the Philippines, an occasional priest might not be tempted by earthly considerations. The Filipinos themselves were inclined to be tolerant and to condone any slip from grace on the part of the priests. Whatever the causes of the hostile feeling when the Americans arrived, the Filipinos were ready to go to the extreme of confiscating all Church properties and of banishing the Spanish priests.

During the last three decades, the breach between the people and the Church has been completely healed. The great mass of the people belong to the Catholic Church. Hardly a prominent Filipino can be mentioned who was not at least baptized a Catholic. The ordinary Filipino is loyal to his Church and the Church satisfies his religious nature. This is

particularly true because of the ceremonies of the Church and its religious processions in which hundreds participate carrying lighted candles and singing hymns. Probably as a class the women are more devout than the men. The anomaly is found among some of the men of their joining the Masonic fraternity and at the same time retaining loose connections with the Church.

The Catholic Church has gradually changed its policy with reference to its relations with the political situation. It is currently believed that the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Law, which would have granted quick independence to the Philippines, was defeated through the intervention of Cardinal Gibbons and Senator O'Gorman. Since then, however, the dignitaries of the Catholic Church have freely announced their sympathy with Filipino aspirations and apparently have lost their fear of excesses aimed at the Church under an independent Philippines. The principal economic problem of the Church relates to the large landed estates which it still possesses and the agitation of the tenants on these estates for the ownership of the land.

A number of holy shrines are found in the Philippines. Stories of the miraculous powers possessed by these hallowed relics are current. The Cruz Milagrosa, otherwise known as Magellan's Cross, was erected in Cebu by Magellan himself, and an image of the Holy Child Jesus was left there by his expedition. They still remain and are much venerated.

The expeditions from Mexico carried at the mastheads of their vessels images which were believed to furnish safe conduct, and one of these, the Virgin of Antipolo, also known as the Virgin of Peace and Good Voyage, is found in the church in the picturesque town of Antipolo, not far from Manila. The Virgin of Antipolo is one of the most expensively adorned images in the Philippines. Her crown and the halo around her head, set with glittering diamonds, are fashioned out of fine antique gold. Her veil is embroidered with gold and

even the scepter she carries in her hand is made of the same costly metal. It is only on rare occasions, however, that the Virgin is garbed in all her royal and splendid raiment. The annual pilgrimage in the month of May to the shrine at Antipolo is a combination of religion and pleasure.

The Vatican is represented in Manila by an Apostolic Delegate. The Philippines is divided into two archdioceses, Manila and Cebu. The Archbishop of Cebu and eight of the eleven bishops are Filipinos. The standing of the Philippines in the Roman Catholic World was shown by the choice of Manila for the holding of the Twenty-third International Eucharistic Congress in 1937.

AGLIPAYANOS *

The story of the Independent Filipino Church is the story of one man, Bishop Gregorio Aglipay. He was born on May 9, 1860, which means that he is near to being an octogenarian. He studied for the priesthood, was ordained a Catholic priest, and was highly regarded by the Spanish friars. But when during the uprising against Spain he headed a movement bent on refusing to recognize any foreign element in the Catholic Church in the Philippines, Father Aglipay was excommunicated. General Aguinaldo named him Vicar General of the Filipino Army, and he stayed with the army of Aguinaldo as long as there was the slightest chance for success. Ecclesiastical councils met under Father Aglipay's inspiration and presidency, and in 1902 proclaimed the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente de las Islas Filipinas* (The Independent Filipino Church of the Philippine Islands) with Father Aglipay as *Obispo Maximo* (Supreme Bishop). He has held this position continuously since then.

The Independent Filipino Church aims above all else to be a national church. It is true that it retains some of the forms

* Section read by Bishop Isabelo De los Reyes, Jr., of the Independent Filipino Church.

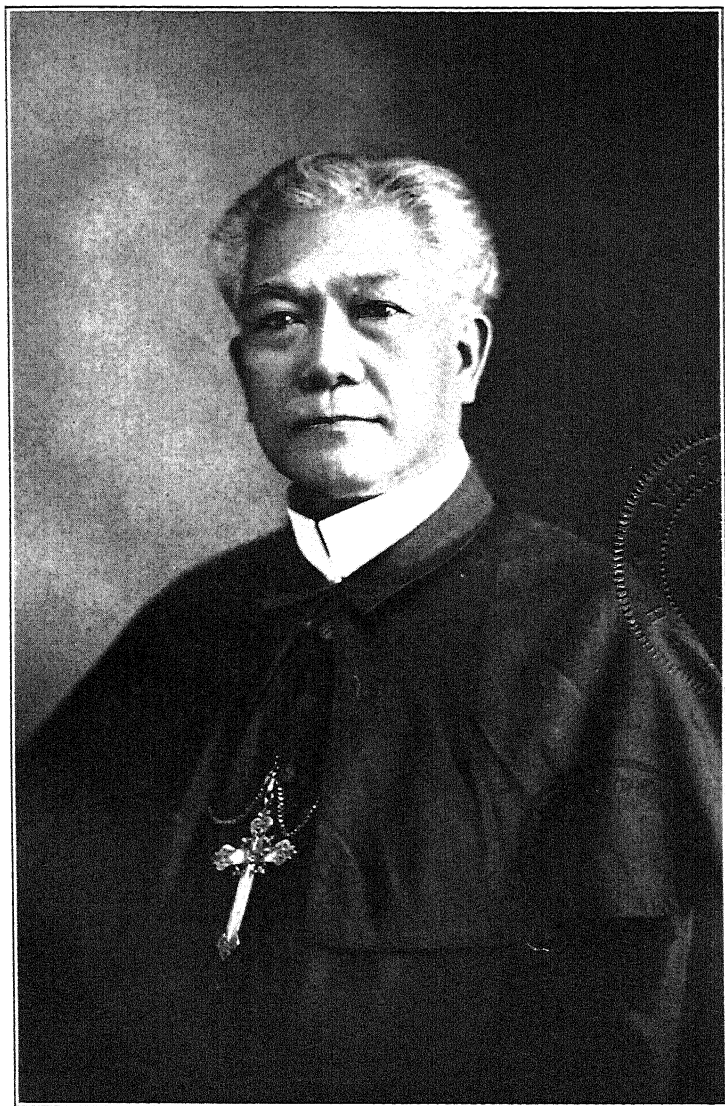
of the Catholic Church and in later years has agreed to a loose connection with liberal Protestant churches in the United States. Notwithstanding, the Independent Filipino Church is intended to be a Church by the Filipinos, of the Filipinos, and for the Filipinos. The use of the dialects is decreed in the conducting of the services except in the saying of the masses. The Aglipayano priests are permitted to marry and are encouraged to take part in politics. Bishop Aglipay has set the example for his followers by assuming a commanding position on political issues and by expressing himself freely thereon. He is a power in politics, particularly in northern Luzon.

In a recent press statement, Bishop Aglipay set the number of his followers at 4,000,000, but the last census recorded a smaller number. The Church finds its principal support in the Ilocano provinces, like Ilocos Norte and Zambales; also in Manila and Misamis are found many adherents of the Church. Numerically strong, the Church is financially weak. It has no imposing edifices, for the courts have uniformly decided that Philippine churches belong to Rome, and has found no rich benefactors to endow the Church liberally. As long as Bishop Aglipay lives, the Independent Filipino Church will hold its own, but whether the movement will go forward after it loses the inspiration of its founder and progenitor is a question which only time will solve.

PROTESTANTS ⁵

In a Roman Catholic, Aglipayano, Mohammedan country like the Philippines, the Protestant churches can hardly expect to compete on equal terms. But if weak in numbers, their works have been spiritually fruitful.

⁵ Section read by Rev. Charles R. Hamilton, President of the Union Theological Seminary. See Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (1925), Parts v and vi, and L. Donald Warren, *Isles of Opportunity* (1928), pp. 157-224.



Bernabe Studio

BISHOP GREGORIO AGLIPAY, VENERABLE HEAD OF THE
FILIPINO INDEPENDENT CHURCH

The American forces were hardly nicely settled in the Philippines when Bishop James M. Thoburn of the Methodist Episcopal Church came from India to preach the first sermon ever delivered by a Protestant missionary in the Philippines. A month later, on April 21, 1899, Dr. and Mrs. James B. Rodgers of the Presbyterian Church arrived, and thirty-odd years later are still active. The Protestant Episcopal Church elected in 1902 the Reverend Charles H. Brent to be Bishop of the Philippines, and he became internationally renowned. So the honor-roll runs on to include prominent Filipinos, like Camilo Osias, the former Resident Commissioner to the United States and President of the National University, and Jorge Bocobo, the President of the University of the Philippines.

The Protestant churches had to meet the problem of overlapping work, and they did so sensibly in 1901 in the organization of the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands, which divided the Islands among the missions. So there are the Methodist Mission, the Baptist Mission, the United Brethren Mission, the Disciples Mission, the Presbyterian Mission, the American Board Mission (Congregational), the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the Episcopal Mission. The Seventh-day Adventist Mission carried on missionary work, but is not a member of the National Christian Council, which has superseded the organization at first set up, known as the Evangelical Union. The Episcopalians have adopted a slightly different attitude from that of the other missions. They have confined their work to Americans, Europeans, and pagans, except that the Moros have been afforded opportunities for betterment.

One notable achievement in church unity and toleration was brought to fruition with the formation of the Union Church in Manila. Another has been the organization of the United Evangelical Church, formed by the union of the three Filipino churches in Manila. The American Bible So-

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ciety has published and distributed thousands of Bibles in
English and the dialects.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Under Spanish rule, the State and the Catholic Church were united in the Philippines. The Malolos Constitution, however, as formulated by the Revolutionary Congress, was careful to provide for the separation of the Church from the State. This principle was given practical application with the coming of the American administration. On the other hand, absolute toleration of religious sentiment has been made secure and will continue to be well safeguarded by the Philippine Constitution. Even among the most zealous adherents of the Roman Catholic Church no sentiment exists for any deviation from this fundamental policy.

CHAPTER XX

PHILIPPINE CULTURE ¹

FILIPINO ATTAINMENTS

CULTURE—civilization—humanism—are elusive words. They can include little or much. Thinking practically, let us appraise Philippine culture by outlining the characteristic attainments of the Filipino people in contrast with other peoples.

The story of primitive man's advancement in the Philippines would be interesting to tell, but need not now concern us. It must be presumed that human progress in ages long past went through the same evolutionary processes here as elsewhere. On the coming of the Spaniards, they found a people which had a culture of their own. This had been made possible not only because of innate ability but because of the effect of Hindu influence. On the tree of the indigenous civilization the Spanish conquerors engrafted a Latin civilization. The influence of Spain was marked and was especially commendable in giving to the people the Christian religion. The Americans came and brought with them an entirely different culture which aided in the progress of the Islands especially in educational, economic, and political ways. Thus native, Hindu, Spanish, and American civilizations—in other words, Oriental and Occidental civilizations—have combined to make a localized Filipino civilization. At present it can safely be asserted that there is in the Philippines an advanced state of national and social well-being, which is after all the criterion of culture.

¹ This chapter was read by Hon. Teodoro M. Kalaw, Director of the National Library.

It is possible that in our enthusiasm we have gone too fast for some. Spanish officials there were, contemptuous and patronizing, who sought to paint the primitive *Indio* (Indian) as a savage pure and simple; or what was even worse, as much less than a man, an anthropoid. The same sort of querulous thought was reflected by uninformed Americans. When the question of the ratification of the Treaty of Paris was before the United States Senate, one eminent Senator declared that he was entirely against "the incorporation of a mongrel and semi-barbarous population into our body politic." Another Senator on the same occasion expressed similar abhorrence at the idea of annexing a land tenanted by "an heterogeneous compound of Oriental humanity." When the Philippine Bill was later before the United States Congress and the question of giving to the Islands a representative assembly was under consideration by the House of Representatives, a prominent member went to the extreme of calling the Filipinos "pirates" and "barbarians" "incapable of civilization." Ridiculous as it may seem in perspective, in the early days of American administration in the Islands it was held that a Filipino could not drive a team of American horses, and that he could not be entrusted with the duties of ordinary clerkships. It is slight consolation to recall that a similar warped attitude of mind was reflected in ante-Revolutionary days in the United States when Englishmen were wont to term the Americans "egregious cowards," to ridicule their manners and ways of living, and to prophesy that if Great Britain abandoned the colonies they would soon sue for succor.

Happily those who believe in the God-given superiority of the white man over the brown man, the yellow man, and the black man are getting fewer in number. Happily also the capacity or incapacity of the members of a race is not determined by the virulence of epithets thrown at them but is judged by facts in the court of public opinion. And as can

easily be proved, the Filipinos have given the lie to their detractors by concrete accomplishments.

Those imbued with either racial antagonism or imperialistic sentiment are naturally not only unable to give credit to the Malays, but go further and loudly proclaim that all Malays are incapable of progress beyond the tribal stage and that the race has never built any state or empire. For instance, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, in discussing Malayan capacity for self-government, says: "No Malay nation has ever emerged from the hordes of that race, which has spread over the islands of the Pacific. Wherever they are found they have certain marked characteristics, and of these the most remarkable is their lack of that spirit which goes to form a homogeneous people, to weld them together."² The Empires of Shri-Vishaya, Madjapahit, and Malacca belie this statement. Not only this, but evidence is literally being unearthed to show that the Maya Indians of North America and the Incas of South America, with their acknowledged high civilizations, were of Malay extraction. As if this were not enough, a theory has recently been advanced which makes the Malays near kin of the Iberian type of the Mediterranean peoples and so partners in the building of the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Chaldea. The Philippines itself and the Filipinos themselves contradict the reflection on Malays as an uncivilized race and on their incapacity for self-government, for in the Philippines there does exist a civilized people and there does exist a Commonwealth on the way to independence.

It must be admitted that democracy in the Philippines has its weaknesses. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that the native inhabitants whom the Spaniards found in the Is-

² *The Mastery of the Pacific* (1902), p. 122, cited approvingly by Dean C. Worcester; *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, p. 673; E. Alexander Powell, *Asia at the Crossroads* (1922), pp. 280, 281; and D. R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines* (1924), p. 50. Contrast with Major General J. G. R. Forlong, *Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions, Embracing all the Religions of Asia* (1897).

lands were not united, and considering the centuries of Spanish domination which gave little chance for experience in administration. It would be expecting too much of a people to have them learn all the bitter lessons of democracy in two or three decades. But the growth of democratic thought has been rapidly fostered through the schools, the ballot, and actual experience in the art of government. That democracy in the Philippines may be different from democracy in the United States need not necessarily be taken as a legitimate criticism, for conditions in the two countries are radically different.

One sterling factor in Philippine culture is the nature of the Filipino himself and the importance of the Filipino family in community life. Law-abiding, contented, and with many commendable traits, the Filipino is very much attached to his family and his home. No better basis for democracy or civilization could be found than this laudable characteristic.

The universal thirst for education indicates that culture should not retrograde but should on the contrary develop in many ways. Unfortunately the Islands have no native language of national diversification, and hence it has been necessary to make English the common language. But the Philippines has a higher standard of literacy than many nations. The exact percentage of literacy to illiteracy has been variously estimated, but according to the Census of 1918, fifty per cent of the population of over ten years of age were literate.

The Philippines is the only Christian nation in the Orient. The unifying effect of religion, its effort to eradicate vices, and its tendency to raise the standard of morality are factors that cannot be overlooked in estimating Philippine culture.

Wide differences of opinion have existed relative to the advisability of granting the Philippines independence, but even the most stubborn opponents of independence concede that it was but meet and proper for the Filipinos to accen-

tuate the idea of nationalism. Had the Filipino people been so docile and meek as to accept without question a colonial form of government, they would have displayed weakness of character. When, however, the Filipino people were willing to fight and fight hard for their freedom, they joined themselves with other vigorous races which have engaged in similar struggles. On the credit side of Philippine culture must, therefore, be placed the nationalistic aspirations of the people.

No people can be considered cultivated which does not show proper respect for its women-folk. Fortunately the Filipino does not fail by this test. On the contrary, Philippine women occupy a unique place in comparison with other women of the Orient. One of the greatest assets of the Philippines is the fine type of Filipino womanhood and the innate respect accorded woman by the male sector of society.

Further manifestations of Philippine culture are found in Philippine Literature, Philippine Science, Philippine Art, Philippine Music, and Philippine Public Opinion, which I will now proceed to discuss.

PHILIPPINE LITERATURE ³

A description of the development of Philippine literature divides into five eras, which may be called pre-Spanish, Spanish, Revolutionary, Spanish-American, and American.

Unfortunately, misplaced missionary zeal has deprived us of the privilege of having knowledge of all but a scanty few of the written documents which had been prepared in the Philippines before the coming of the Spaniards. But we do know that long before the Spanish conquest the ancient Filipinos had a literature written in characters of their own. The writing of manuscripts as practised by these early Filipinos reflected the simple activities of their lives. Its manifestations

³ See Eulogio B. Rodriguez, "The Development of Philippine Literature," *Historical Review*, March, 1933, and Zoilo M. Galang, *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, Vol. I, "Literature" (1935).

consisted principally in maxims, proverbs, and songs (*kundimans*). Even today the Ifugaos possess a great epic poem known as the "hud-hud," which requires more than twenty-four hours to sing.

Then came Spain, and as Rizal once remarked, the laws, customs, and culture of the people were all changed by a single stroke of the pen. Native talent in writing thereafter received scant encouragement from the Spaniards. Practically all of the books printed in the dialects were of a religious trend or romantic and fantastic stories. Standing out like mountain tops over valleys were the names in this era of Tomas Pinpin, Francisco Baltazar, and Jose Rizal. Tomas Pinpin, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, was the father of Philippine printing. Francisco Baltazar, known as Balagtas, of a somewhat later period, became the poet and philosopher of the Philippines. And then, as if to usher in the glories of the twentieth century, came Jose Rizal, the most eminent author of his race.

Balagtas was the most prolific bard the Philippines has ever produced. But his fame rests largely on *Florante At Laura*, the single work of greatest popularity. *Florante At Laura* is a narrative poem with a dramatic trend. It has been termed the most national poem of the Philippines, and certainly is the masterpiece of Tagalog literature. Translations have been made into the Visayan, Pampanga, and Bicol tongues, and Professor George St. Clair has brought out a commendable version in English. Balagtas is conceded by all to be the greatest national poet of the Filipinos.

Jose Rizal's two novels were *Noli Me Tangere* (literally "Touch Me Not," but translated as "The Social Cancer") and *El Filibusterismo* ("The Reign of Greed"). The two works in the way of construction were perhaps not so much novels as they were a series of realistic pictures of Philippine life at that time. As between the two works of fiction, it is generally conceded that *El Filibusterismo* is not equal to

Noli Me Tangere. William Dean Howells, a discriminating critic, pronounced Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* the greatest book written in any language in fifty years. Complete English editions of the novels have appeared and have enjoyed wide circulation.

Rizal gave his final message to his dearly beloved fatherland in the beautiful poem, *Mi Ultimo Adios* ("My Last Farewell"), written some nights before his martyrdom. No one can translate these verses without tragic loss, but a number of attempts at English versions, eleven in all, have been made. One of the first was made by an Italian, Zanoni Volpicelli; and another, it is interesting to note, was rendered by a Japanese, Dr. Y. Mikami. The most widely known version is the one done by an American, Charles Derbyshire. The poem has been recited with dramatic effect on the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

The Philippine Revolution naturally encouraged prolific writing and was attended by the issuance of State papers of more or less intrinsic value. Major J. R. M. Taylor translated and compiled the insurgent records, but the work was left in the form of galley-proofs in the archives of the War Department at Washington. General Emilio Aguinaldo's account of the Revolution appeared in his *Reseña Verídica de la Revolución Filipina* ("True Version of the Philippine Revolution"), which was written by him and corrected by one of his advisers. Apolinario Mabini, the premier of the Revolutionary Government, afterwards wrote *La Revolución Filipina* ("The Philippine Revolution"), and Felipe G. Calderon, the author of the Malolos Constitution, brought out *Mis Memorias Sobre La Revolución Filipina* ("My Memories of the Philippine Revolution"). These works are valuable because furnishing source material, but do not shine with literary brilliancy.

What has been termed with questionable right the Golden

Age of Literature in Spanish overlaps the Spanish and American régimes. Then appeared Fernando Ma. Guerrero, acclaimed as the national poet; Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, the Filipino philologist and scholar, a master of Spanish; Epifanio de los Santos, the indefatigable researcher, acknowledged savant, and brilliant writer; and Justice Ignacio Villamor, industrious statistician, famed criminologist, and distinguished essayist. The works of these great Filipinos were characterized by an authoritative use of Spanish, although they were also acquainted with English and other languages, by a distinct trend toward the expression of nationalistic feelings, and by a sincere desire to encourage the development of Philippine literature. Spanish culture continues to be fostered by the Philippine Academy, a branch of the *Real Academia de La Lengua Española* (Royal Academy of the Spanish Language) composed of Filipino scholars proficient in the Spanish language.

What shall we say of the present era? Probably we are too near to events to offer any convincing critique of Filipino literature in English. One point favorable to American influence has been the greater latitude permitted in the development of the Island's literature, vernacular and otherwise, because of the implantation of freedom of speech and of the press.

The works of the young writers are numerous but few are noteworthy. They are mostly superficial and lack depth. Marcelo de Gracia Concepcion has enjoyed the distinction of having a small volume of poetry, entitled *Azucena*, brought out by an American publisher, and Jose Garcia Villa has been accorded similar recognition for his *Footnote to Youth: Tales of the Philippines, and Others*. Edward J. O'Brien has made the statement that his volume places Villa "among the half dozen short-story writers in America who count," but no rush is noted to second the fulsome praise. Personally I think Villa's short story "Mir-i-nisa" a perfect little gem. A

number of Filipino journalists, like Carlos P. Romulo and Fernando Maramag in English and Pedro Aunario and Ramon Torres in Spanish, have displayed considerable ability as editorial writers.

PHILIPPINE CLASSICS, A ONE-FOOT SHELF OF BOOKS
ON AND FOR THE PHILIPPINES

Some years ago Charles W. Eliot, after a long and fruitful life as President of Harvard University, and as a good American citizen, sponsored the Harvard Classics. On a five-foot shelf he placed the masterpieces of all time. With that example to inspire us, it would hardly seem impertinent to attempt in a smaller way to do the same for the Philippines.

Even before the appearance of the Harvard Classics, I had begun to read the books which have had to do with the Philippine Islands. More recently I renewed these studies in *Filipiniana*. I would not say that I have read everything written on the Philippines, but I would venture the statement that I have approached reasonably near to that goal. In passing I might suggest that if you are inclined to be a bibliophile, you will find the National Library in Manila, with its *Filipiniana* Division, containing the collections of books and manuscripts of Rizal, Le Roy, Zulueta, Tavera, Ponce, De Lete, Artigas, De los Santos, and the Compañía General de Tabacos, offering an alluring feast of reason. But if like most folks you have no penchant for being bookish, I will try and save you from the vicissitudes of one Pilgrim's Progress if I can, and will with you reflect on which of these multitudinous works have been permanently worth while, are outstandingly unique, or represent real achievements in scholarship.

We are forced to begin with Spain in the Philippines. The literature on the Philippines in Spanish is extensive, as is disclosed by that monumental work, Blair and Robertson,

The Philippine Islands, where fifty-five volumes are needed to encompass the translations of documents and books of historical importance concerning the Philippines. As a beginning, it would appear not out of place to include the Italian Antonio Pigafetta's *Primo Viaggio Intorno Al Mondo* ("First Voyage Around the World"), which is a journal by a participant of Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the world, including his appearance in the Philippines. Of the strictly Spanish descriptions of the Philippines, it is everywhere conceded that the most reliable is the first by Chief Justice Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* ("Events of the Philippine Islands"), which work gains additional prestige because considered of enough importance to warrant an English translation by Lord Stanley and because of an edition brought out by Rizal. The descriptive articles on the Philippines prepared by the Catholic Fathers are numerous, but here again it is generally admitted that *Estadismo* ("Travels") by Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, O.S.A., an illustrious member of the Augustinian Order, is the best because characterized by a charming style and careful observation. Foreign writers on the Philippines were not lacking during the Spanish régime, but it is conceded that the book by the German naturalist Feodor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Spanish translation, "*Viajes Por Filipinas*"; English translation, "Travels in the Philippines"), is outstanding because the author was a keen and trained scientific observer.

Coming now to the American occupation of the Philippines, our task of selection is not made difficult by paucity of material to select from, but is complicated by the very fact that there has been so much produced on the Philippines. The arrival of the American fleet under the command of Commodore George Dewey in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, and the naval battle which followed had about the same relative importance as the arrival of Magellan and later of Legaspi had in Spanish times; one "discovered" the Philippines for

Europe, and the other "discovered" the Philippines for North America. In the latter instance, we are fortunate in having a first-hand account written by the commander of the American squadron under the title *Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy*. Of succeeding works on the Philippines there have been many. Dean C. Worcester was probably the best equipped by experience and knowledge to produce a Philippine masterpiece, but missed his opportunity when in his volumes he became involved in a dispute with Judge Blount on the Philippine question and with the Filipino leaders on the slavery question. The recent books by Judge Charles B. Elliott and former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes have much to commend them and are a near approach to the ideal descriptive work on the Islands. Without doubt, however, the most scholarly books on the Philippines, and at the same time the fairest to all concerned, even in uncompleted form, were those produced by James Alfred Le Roy under the title, *The Americans in the Philippines*. In an introduction to the volumes, William H. Taft appropriately stated: "In spite of his [Le Roy's] failure to round out the work, he has left a most valuable aid to the student of Philippine history in that which he did complete. * * * Nowhere can a clearer and more judicial statement be found than in these chapters which Mr. Le Roy, who had really given up his life for the Philippines, was able to complete." In the line of sustained biography, we have as the finest example of American scholarship, Dr. Austin Craig's *Rizal's Life and Minor Writings*. As fiction, we have Rowland Thomas' *The Little Gods, a Masque of the Far East*, especially notable because of "Fagan," the prize-winning short story in a contest conducted by an American national weekly.

The purely Filipino element in Philippine Literature was formerly handicapped by repression and more recently has been handicapped by having to be expressed in foreign tongues. The first Filipino masterpiece in point of time is that

which came from the facile pen of the bard and philosopher Francisco Baltazar (Balagtas), known as *Florante At Laura*. In the name of the greatest of all Filipino authors, Dr. Jose Rizal, stands the patriotic novel *Noli Me Tangere* and the tender elegy, *Mi Ultimo Adios*. Probably the best historical account so far produced by a Filipino was that written by the Sublime Paralytic, Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina*. The poet laureate of the Philippines was Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and the flower of his genius is found in the little book *Crisalidas*, particularly notable being his *Mi Patria* and *A Filipinas*. It is a pity that nothing can readily be selected from the works produced by the Filipino scholar, Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, by the Filipino savant, Epifanio de los Santos, and by the Filipino statistician, Justice Ignacio Villamor. An encouraging sign is the recent activity displayed by Filipino authors now living and with the best of their lives before them. But after all is said, we have to conclude that Balagtas, Rizal, Mabini, and Guerrero will represent the Filipino people worthily in the Philippine Hall of Literature.

In short, out of all the plethora of books so laboriously written on and for the Philippines, only twelve, sufficient to fill one foot of space, have survived the test of time. Five have been written in Spanish, four in English, one in Tagalog, one in Italian, and one in German. Of the authors, four were Filipinos, four Americans, two Spaniards, one Italian, and one German.

A place is awaiting other classics in Philippine Literature. We are yet without a complete, authentic, and scholarly history of the Philippine Islands. Dr. H. Otley Beyer, renowned anthropologist, has yet to make notable use of his immense collection of *Filipiniana*. The modern novel on Philippine life is yet to appear. Even a travel story, similar to the books written by Harry Franck on other countries, has not been published. The public awaits the autobiography of General Emilio Aguinaldo to supplement his *True Version of the*

Philippine Revolution. And the public would read with avid interest the memoirs of President Manuel L. Quezon and the reminiscences of Vice President Sergio Osmeña.

My selection of Philippine Classics for a one-foot shelf of books on and for the Philippines are the following:

1. Antonio Pigaffeta, *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo* ("First Voyage Around the World").
2. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* ("Events of the Philippine Islands").
3. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Estadismo* ("Travels").
4. Feodor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* ("Travels in the Philippines").
5. *Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy*.
6. James Alfred Le Roy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, with an introduction by William H. Taft.
7. Austin Craig, *Rizal's Life and Minor Writings*.
8. Rowland Thomas, *The Little Gods, A Masque of the Far East*.
9. Francisco Baltazar, *Florante At Laura*.
10. Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* ("The Social Cancer") and *Mi Ultimo Adios* ("My Last Farewell").
11. Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolución Filipina* ("The Philippine Revolution").
12. Fernando Ma. Guerrero, *Crisalidas* ("Chrysalis").

PHILIPPINE SCIENCE ⁴

In my original plan for this book, the subject of science was deliberately omitted. The reason was that I doubted if anyone could do justice in a few sentences to scientific achievements with a Philippine setting, and accordingly I thought it would be more sensible to forgo the attempt entirely. On further reflection it occurred to me that a wrong impression would be made if Philippine Science was not mentioned, for to the stranger it might appear that science in the Philip-

⁴ Section read by Dr. A. S. Arguelles, Director of Science.

pires was not deemed as important as literature and the arts. At least, the lights and shadows of an abstruse topic should be depicted in broad outlines.

When we think of science in the Philippines, we think of the Bureau of Science. This is a unique institution early organized by the American administration which assembled in one organization activities of a laboratory nature. In the course of time the number of uses to which the bureau was put was greatly expanded. Behind the bureau stood a sympathetic government, and it received federal and private encouragement. The Bureau of Science was, and to a considerable extent still is, a well-rounded scientific institution and may well be considered one of the splendid legacies of the American administration.

When mention is made of the Bureau of Science, there is necessarily brought to mind the name of its founder, Dr. Paul C. Freer. From Freer, the eminent chemist, to Dr. William H. Brown, the eminent botanist, and the last American Director of the Bureau of Science, not a long period of time was spanned, but it was sufficient to permit of noteworthy researches by scientists associated with the bureau. The present Director, Dr. A. S. Arguelles, is a well-trained and scholarly Filipino. His collaborators are practically all young Filipinos.

It needs to be repeated that the implantation of scientific work in the Islands is a comparatively recent development. Just as the Spanish régime was characterized by a crusade for the spread of the Christian faith among the people, so the coming of the American régime gave impetus to the advance of science along lines adequate to meet modern requirements. Over thirty years ago life in the tropics was considered extremely hazardous due to rampant epidemic diseases. The early American scientists, with unremitting toil and untold sacrifices, made fundamental investigations which helped check the heavy tolls of tropical epidemics such as cholera, smallpox, malaria, and dysentery. These inroads of epidemics

were then considered acts of God, similar to great upheavals of nature. The rapid advances in health and sanitation have made Philippine life enjoyable and safe, comparable with countries in the temperate zone. With the stabilization of public health, attention was thereupon directed to researches on technical industries, forests, mines, agriculture, fisheries, and other natural resources.

Not all of the scientific output of the Philippines was monopolized by the Bureau of Science. For instance, there were investigations of tropical diseases by the United States Army, of leprosy by the Bureau of Health and the Leonard Wood Memorial, and of rinderpest by the Bureau of Agriculture and its successor, the Bureau of Animal Industry. The list could be continued to include many branches of the government service.

Many names have been associated with science in the Philippines. Two of them, the one Filipino and the other American, should at least be mentioned. Dr. Leon Ma. Guerrero, to whom death came in 1935, was the famed and foremost Filipino botanist. Dr. H. Otley Beyer won international renown for his researches in the fields of Philippine and oriental history, anthropology, and archeology.

The dark side of the picture is that the Government has failed to maintain the high standards of the Bureau of Science. Splendid men have been lost when any kind of encouragement would have kept them. Some of these scientists went from the Philippines to better and more responsible posts. As late as 1933 the Bureau of Science was practically dismembered and its various units scattered hither and yon. Fortunately in 1934 a sagacious department secretary put the pieces of the bureau together again.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines provides that "The State shall promote scientific research and invention." Let us hope that the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth will make of this principle more than a

piece of paper. At the command of the Government will be the Bureau of Science and the National Research Council, the latter newly created. The Philippines offers exceptional natural advantages for research, and men are available here and abroad for this research, so that it would be near to a crime for natural advantages and human endeavor not to collaborate for the good of the Filipino people in particular and of humanity in general.

PHILIPPINE ART ⁵

The Philippines occupies a secure place in the world of art. The Filipino, whether as a surgeon performing a complicated operation, or as a painter putting beauty to canvas, or as a sculptor carving in wood, modeling in clay, or chiseling in marble, or as an architect sketching the plans of a memorial, is endowed with skilled hands and artistic temperament. Taking cognizance of the artistic talents of the Filipinos, the development of the fine arts both in Spanish times and at present has been encouraged. Unfortunately, because of their contact with western civilization, the expression of art among the Filipinos is mainly imitative. This is frankly admitted by the Filipinos themselves.

The Islands have produced Filipino painters of international reputation, such as Juan Luna, Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, Lorenzo Guerrero, and Toribio Antillon. Their paintings are treasured in European galleries and in Manila. The first two were in many ways the antithesis of each other, for while Luna reveled in strength and fire, Hidalgo's work reveled in melancholy and languor.

Luna's masterpiece was the "Spolarium," which won several prizes and was at last sold to the City of Barcelona,

⁵ Section read by Mr. Juan M. Arellano, Consulting Architect of the Bureau of Public Works. See Ignacio Manlapaz, "Filipino Art," Appendix to Maximo M. Kalaw's *Philippine Social Science* (1933).

Spain. A copy of the "Spolarium" now hangs in the Marble Hall in Manila. Other well-known paintings of Luna were "En el 'Trinclinium,'" "Pueblo y Reyes," and "The Blood Compact." The latter now greets the eye as one ascends the grand staircase in Malacañan Palace in Manila. Hidalgo's paintings include "Oedipus and Antigone" and "Las Virgenes Cristianas Expuestas al Populacho."

Modern painting is not without its masters, with the outstanding figures Fabian de la Rosa, the Director of the School of Fine Arts of the University of the Philippines, and Fernando Amorsolo. The last-named has gained a deserved reputation for brilliant mastery of his genius and is more and more giving a Philippine setting to his pictures.

Filipino sculptors have also executed beautiful works of art. In pre-Spanish days, the Filipinos carved their idols, and even yet a recrudescence of this talent may be seen in the primitive but nevertheless pretty objects made by the mountain peoples. The town of Paete, Laguna, has long attracted attention on account of the ability of its residents in sculpture. The carvings in the churches, notably those in the St. Ignacio (Jesuit) Church in Manila, made by Filipino artisans, are symphonies of beauty. The most distinguished Filipino sculptor is Guillermo Tolentino, who is an assiduous and productive worker in his chosen field. His latest masterpiece is his monument to the Filipino patriot, Andres Bonifacio. The Bonifacio monument is far superior to the more pretentious mausoleum to Rizal on the Luneta in Manila, which is the world's ugliest national monument and which the irreverent refer to as a bottle. And speaking of monuments, the one honoring Miguel de Legaspi and Andres de Urdaneta, overlooking the Luneta and Manila Bay, which was put in place soon after the American occupation, still surpasses all others in the Islands in appropriateness of location and design.

The most typical expression of Philippine art is to be seen in the hundreds of old and beautiful churches which are found scattered over the Islands. They are solid structures which have defied the elements and destructive earthquakes. Of Byzantine and early Renaissance architecture, the lines of these churches are simple and their interiors satisfying in religious appeal. The imposing churches stand as monuments to untold sacrifices of the craftsmen who were responsible for their creation.

Foremost among Philippine churches is the San Augustin Church and Convent, the Philippines' most ancient structure, located at the corner of *Calles* General Luna and Real in Manila's Walled City. Completed as it now stands at the beginning of the sixteenth century, miraculously it has escaped the ravages of man and nature. Possibly one reason for its sturdiness is the foundation, which is said to be egg-shaped. Another reason is its retaining walls and buttresses, which average thirteen feet in thickness. But the most remarkable feature of the church is the ceiling of solid, hewn stone. In the little room between the altar and the vestry the terms for the American occupation of Manila were signed. In the church lie buried Spain's noblest dead.

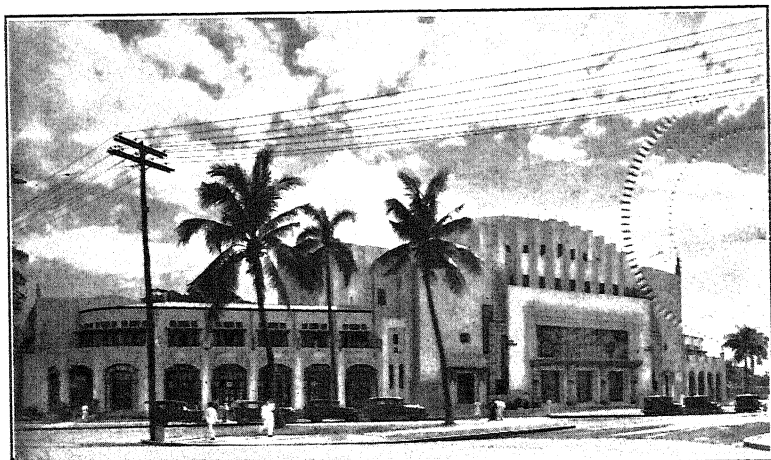
Utility more than beauty was aimed at in the construction of most public buildings in the Philippines of the present era. A standardized type in non-poetical cement was cheaper and more practical than variegated expressions of the architect's vision. The exceptions have been a few of the provincial capitols, the pillared halls of the University of the Philippines along Grecian lines, the Legislative Building, the building of the Bureau of Posts, and the Metropolitan Theater. The three last named, located not far apart in Manila, are the children of Juan M. Arellano, the Filipino architect, himself an artist of no mean repute, who in spite of the handicaps imposed by an unfeeling government, yet managed to produce beautiful structures.



Photo Finishing Corporation

CHURCH AND CONVENT OF SAN AGUSTIN, MANILA

The commemorative tablet placed on the facade of the church by the Philippines Historical Research and Markers Committee reads: "Church of San Agustin. Oldest in the Philippines. Cornerstone laid in 1599. Church completed in 1608 under supervision of the lay Brother Antonio Herrera. Of churches in Manila this one alone withstood the earthquakes of 1645, 1754, 1852, 1863, and 1880. The choir has 60 carved molave seats, an artistic lectern and parchment cantorals of the 16th and 17th centuries. This church and its graves were profaned during the British occupation of Manila in 1762, and the ashes of Legaspi, Salcedo, Lavezares and others now rest in the eastern-most chapel of the transept. Terms for the American occupation of Manila were signed in the vestry of this church in August, 1898. 1934"



Photograph by Charles W. Miller

THE METROPOLITAN THEATER IN MANILA

An example of bizarre but pleasing modernity.

PHILIPPINE MUSIC⁶

The Filipinos are natural musicians. Even in the earliest times they were fond of music. The Negritos had their own music long before their Malay conquerors came to the Islands. All the peoples of the Islands have given expression to the yearnings of their souls by means of folk-songs and dances.

In recent times, Filipino music has assumed more modern methods of expression. During the Philippine Revolution, Julian Felipe composed the music, and Jose Palma wrote the words in Spanish, of the Philippine National Hymn, commonly referred to as "Aguinaldo's March." It is the piece now played along with "The Star Spangled Banner," and although the European influence in the hymn is noticeable, it possesses a martial air and rhythm which is peculiarly appealing.

The Constabulary Band, organized in 1904 and trained by Major Walter H. Loving, an American Negro with exceptional musical talent, is world famous. The band has not only established itself as a successful local organization, but has gone on foreign tours and has there met with the plaudits of the people. It participated in the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, attended the inaugural ball of President Taft in 1909, and took part in the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. Lieutenant Alfonso J. Fresnido now capably wields the baton over the band.

An ever-increasing group of young musicians educated in Europe and the United States form an important factor in the progress of music in the Philippines. Conspicuous among them are Miss Jovita Fuentes, a soprano who in the rôle of Madame Butterfly and other operatic parts had a remarkable career abroad, and Miss Luisa Tapales, who triumphed in the

⁶ Section read by Mr. Francisco Santiago, Director of the Conservatory of Music, University of the Philippines. See Francisco Santiago, *The Development of Music in the Philippine Islands* (1931), and Justice Norberto Romualdez, *Filipino Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago* (1931).

opera of Paris. The unexpected commentary is that Miss Fuentes had to make believe she was a Japanese in order to secure recognition for her talents, and her experience, sad to relate, has not been the exception but the rule for other Filipina singers. Also conspicuous among Filipino musicians is Jose Mossessgeld Santiago, known to the world of opera as Santiago Font, who was the first Filipino to make successful appearances in La Scala Theater of Milan, the most exclusive operatic institution of Italy.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE PHILIPPINES ⁷

"There is no public opinion in the Philippine Islands." So writers have asserted on sundry occasions. But this assertion will bear reëxamination, for like most sweeping statements, it includes more than is strictly true. What is true is that the Filipino people's sentiments are with difficulty transformed into law or policy. What also is true is that as yet the Philippine public is not a reading public. Those who form national sentiment, like political leaders and journalists, are few, and those who take an interest in what the political leaders and journalists are writing are not numerous. But there is public opinion in the Philippine Islands.

The press is without question the most powerful organ for shaping public opinion. In the Philippines the influence of the press has made steady progress. The first periodical, which was in the nature of a gazette of the Central Government, was founded in 1811. The oldest Philippine journal is *El Comercio*, established in 1863, long published in Spanish, but now appearing in English. The journal of Philippine propaganda in Spain was the *La Solidaridad*, established by Graciano Lopez Jaena in Barcelona and published fortnightly, in which appeared the editorials of Marcelo H. del Pilar and other

⁷ Section read by Mr. Antonio Escoda, President of the Gridiron Club. See Jesus Z. Valenzuela, *History of Journalism in the Philippine Islands* (1933).

Filipino patriots. After American occupation, possibly the newspaper best known was the *Manila Times*, now defunct.

Periodicals now appear in English, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and the dialects. The publications written exclusively in the English language claim the widest circulation, but this is undoubtedly because of the inclusion of government publications like the *School News Review*. The total daily newspaper circulation has been variously estimated, but is probably around 200,000. For a population of 14,000,000, and in comparison with the reading public of countries like the United States and Japan, these Philippine figures are pitifully small. The provinces are particularly lacking in newspapers. In the smaller municipalities only a meager dozen or so of the inhabitants keep abreast of public affairs by subscribing to periodicals.

While the Philippines has been lacking in quantity in newspaper circulation, on the other hand it has been fortunate in the quality of its publications. The Philippines has had associated with its press men and women of the highest repute. The roll-call includes the names of Jose Romero Salas, long dean of Philippine journalism; Martin Egan and his talented wife, Eleanor Franklin Egan, formerly connected with the *Manila Times*; Frederick O'Brien, Cosmopolite of South Sea Island fame; Bill Lewis, or, to give him his British title, Sir Willmott Lewis; Carson Taylor, successful publisher of the sole remaining American daily; Walter Robb, editor of the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal*; R. McCullough Dick, acclaimed as the ablest journalist in the Philippines and the composer of the perfect editorial; Carlos P. Romulo, the brilliant young publisher of a chain of newspapers, and Alejandro Roces, Sr., the Filipino Lord Northcliffe of Philippine journalism, to whom goes the palm for civic courage. The articles personally written by these men and women or for which they were responsible are of immense variety and number. The editorial most famous and which

nearly produced a revolution in governmental affairs was Frederick O'Brien's satire on "Why the Fly Climbs up the Window Pane." The news service, including provincial reports, is reliable, and the make-up of the daily and weekly papers is excellent.

One reason for the lack of more freedom of expression was the existence of repressive measures under Spanish rule. Freedom of speech and of the press was one of the fundamental reforms insisted upon by the leading minds of the Filipino people, and was one of the prime causes of the revolts against Spain. The Malolos Constitution drafted by the Revolutionary Congress was careful to safeguard this sacred right. Beginning with the President's Instructions to the Philippine Commission, the guaranty of freedom of speech and the press as known in Anglo-Saxon countries was made effective in the Philippines. It was one of the richest gifts of the American people to the Filipino people.

Notwithstanding the constitutional guaranty, the Philippines has a strict libel law. Prosecutions to vindicate name and honor have been frequent. Scandals have been aired in court, and names have either been vindicated or further besmirched. The tendency of the courts in the interpretation and enforcement of the libel law has been to adopt a tolerant and reasonable attitude and to deal lightly with offenses which come under that law, in order to permit of the inculcation of freedom of speech and of the press.

One way by which public opinion is formed in the Philippines is not by the written word but by the spoken word. The Filipino politicians are fluent and eloquent speakers. They find large and appreciative audiences ready to listen to them even in the remotest *barrios*. What is said at these meetings then passes on from mouth to mouth and is further discussed at gatherings of the elders in the vicinity. It is believed that the importance of this method of making public opinion has

not been sufficiently appreciated, and that it exists to a remarkable extent in the Islands.

When, therefore, the statement is made that there is no public opinion in the Islands, the matter is overly stated. More correctly it could be said that the serious lack of an informed and alert public opinion in the Philippines is to be deplored, but that a public opinion does exist and does exert an influence through the ballot and otherwise. The purpose of all should be to advance public opinion in the Philippines and to elevate it to the same plane in which it is found in other progressive countries.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PHILIPPINES AT PLAY

SPORTS ¹

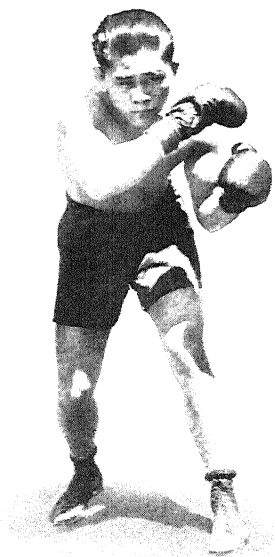
THE Filipino is an enthusiastic sportsman. Be it at the nipa-thatched cockpit, at the prizefight stadium, or at the magnificent Rizal Memorial Field, he is vociferously present. Of the few primitive games which still persist, *sipa*, a form of kick-ball, is one which was played long before the Philippines was influenced by foreign customs. But most of the sports of today are importations from the United States.

The development of athletics has been a cardinal part of the educational program for the schools. Filipino youth responded nobly to instruction. Baseball, later developed into indoor baseball played outdoors, soccer football, basketball, volley-ball, tennis, and track events are popular. Cold weather games, like American football, are not played, being unsuited to the Philippine climate.

The schools hold regional athletic contests annually. The Bicol Meet of Southern Luzon, which is converted into a great social event, is the best known. Then at the carnival in Manila, the athletes of the schools contest in interscholastic games. The open meet at the carnival, featuring representatives of the common schools, the universities, and the Army, brings together the best athletes of the Islands.

In certain branches of athletics the Filipinos have tended to be more proficient than in others. Take boxing. Filipinos are the gamest of game fighters. Their shifting, slashing attack makes them prime favorites with the crowd. A number

¹ Section read by Dr. Regino Ylanan, National Physical Director.



PANCHO VILLA, FORMER
FLYWEIGHT CHAMPION
OF THE WORLD



Triangulo Studio, Courtesy T.V.T.

RIZAL MEMORIAL FIELD, THE BASEBALL STADIUM

A team of All-Star American Big-Leaguers plays the Philippine Olympic team before a crowd estimated at 50,000. Babe Ruth can be seen just beyond first base on the playing field.

of Filipino boxers have invaded other countries, including the United States, Australia, and Japan, and have performed well in the ring. Pancho Villa died the world champion in the flyweight class when he gamely fought his last fight with an infected jaw. In 1935 Small Montano, baptized Benjamin Gan, flashy Filipino fighter, annexed the Philippines second world ring-title by outpointing Midget Wolgast, recognized flyweight champion.

In baseball, leagues function in Manila and its environs, while baseball organizations exist in other localities. Baseball is played from October to June, or mostly during the time when it is not played in the United States. Cristeto Regis, a grandfather of fifty, only recently drew the plaudits of the crowd with his miraculous one-hand catches at first base.

In tennis, the Aragon brothers and Leonardo Gavia, the national champion, have met the best racquet-wielders of Japan and China.

Golf clubs have been founded and attract a cosmopolitan crowd of golf enthusiasts. Larry Montes, a former caddy, is a professional in Japan who enters big tournaments and makes a creditable showing.

It would be unusual if the Filipinos were not expert swimmers, because of the topography of the Islands. The Moros are particularly adept in this sport. Teofilo Yldefonso, who lost to a representative of Japan in the World Olympics in Los Angeles, later defeated the same youth in the 1934 Far Eastern Olympics in Manila.

Filipino girls of the common people have readily deserted the fields, and their more sheltered sisters of the aristocratic upper crust have as readily deserted their cloistered homes, to engage in all forms of athletics. The "Tipas Tots," a team of soft-ball players from the public schools of Tipas, Rizal, defeated all comers at home and abroad. Mrs. Elisa R. Ochoa and her young daughter Minda have been the women tennis champions of the Philippines.

Tough little ponies are bred in Batangas and other provinces and engage in short-distance running races. For the entertainment of a more select circle, mostly American and foreign, polo is played. The Polo Club fronting on Manila Bay was provided by former Governor-General Forbes, a polo fan. The Elizalde brothers, sport-loving members of the Filipino-Spanish community, form a unique polo team hard to beat.

THE FAR EASTERN OLYMPIC GAMES²

The Philippines is a member of A. A. A. O., which expanded is Amateur Athletic Association of the Orient. Why? Answer: International politics which intruded itself into athletic meets.

The Tenth Far Eastern Olympic Games were held in Manila in 1934. Manchukuo applied for admission to the F. E. A. A. (Far Eastern Athletic Association). Japan insisted and threatened to boycott the games which were to dedicate the Philippines' costly new stadium in Manila if the petition were not granted. China resisted. The Philippines was in a difficult position as the other members of the association, Java and French Indo-China, seemed indifferent. When all moves had been made, Japan and the Philippines had agreed to dissolve the F. E. A. A., and to organize the A. A. A. O. The latter is planned on more ambitious lines than its predecessor.

The Philippines furnished the impetus for the organization of the Far Eastern Athletic Association in 1913. Regularly every two years thereafter, the Oriental Olympics were held alternately in the Philippines, Japan, and China. The athletes of these three countries met in a great sporting event in all the standard contests. The governing body for athletics in the Philippines, formerly allied to the Far Eastern Athletic Association, is called the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federa-

² Section read by Dr. Regino Ylanan, National Physical Director.

tion, and corresponds to similar organizations in the United States.

Filipino athletes have competed on equal terms with Japanese and Chinese athletes. Juan K. Taduran, now in charge of athletics in the University of the Philippines, became a hero by capturing the decathlon crown for three consecutive times, during the Far Eastern Olympic Games in 1921, 1923, and 1925. Simeon Toribio was twice point-winner in World Olympic competition and is the holder of the Far Eastern record in the high jump, which event he captured in the 1934 Far Eastern Championship Games. In the Tenth Far Eastern Olympic Games, which signalized the closing of the chapter of two decades of competition fostered by the Far Eastern Athletic Association, and which opened a new page for the Amateur Athletic Association of the Orient, the Philippines and Japan shared honors. In the official events, the Philippines won in baseball, basketball, and volley-ball, as against Japan's triumphs in track, field, swimming, and all-around championships, and China's lone victory in soccer football.

The Rizal Memorial Field in Harrison Park in Manila, which was thrown open to the public to usher in the Tenth Far Eastern Olympic Games, is the Orient's finest playground center, and is modern in every way. All sports have adequate playing fields and stands. The problem will be to keep this expensive plant functioning during the long intervals when not needed for the Olympic Games.

COCKFIGHTING³

If any one sport can be called the national sport of the Filipinos, it is cockfighting. This is a pastime indigenous to the Islands which was fostered by the Spanish governors. The present policy leans toward eventual extermination of cock-

³ Section read by Dr. Regino Ylanan, National Physical Director.

fighting, and as the power of the cockpit trusts makes this unfeasible, endeavors to curtail it as much as possible.

Notwithstanding governmental preachments, cockfighting continues to be the favorite sport of the masses. Restricted to Sundays and holidays, crowds gather on those days in the nipa-covered arenas. In the heat, the people mill with excitement as bets are made and won or lost.

The owner of a game-cock is wont to tend it well and possibly more tenderly than any living object of his household, wife and children not excepted. It is a common sight to see a Filipino in a street-car with his game rooster carried carefully under his arm, or to find him in front of his house training his bird for a coming fight. Yet it is a curious fact that the Islands must import their eggs from China and Japan.

HEADHUNTING ⁴

Possibly some old-timer will arise to remark that headhunting is misplaced in a chapter dealing with sports and amusements. It will be insisted that the taking of human heads was a religious custom peculiar to the mountain tribes of Luzon, the Dyaks of Borneo, and the hill peoples of Formosa and New Guinea. The observation will be partly correct. The impulse which led to headhunting was revenge allied to the desire to furnish proof of manhood.

At the same time headhunting was a ferocious custom which combined all the excitement of an Army-Navy football contest, a world series baseball game, and a heavyweight world championship prizefight. Life was drab and dreary in the mountains. Something had to be invented to relieve the monotony of planting and harvesting rice and *camotes* (sweet potatoes). So headhunting. The strategy of a foxy quarterback, the inside baseball of a famous manager, and the on-

⁴ Section read by Colonel William E. Dosser, Governor of the Mountain Province. See Samuel E. Kane, *Life or Death in Luzon* (1933).

slaught of a human battering ram were not more needed than in planning and executing the taking of a fine head. And everything as well regulated by tradition and custom as in a fencing bout. Dressed in the armor of a gee-string and armed with a shield, a spear, and a battle-axe, the knight was equipped to sally forth and take a head—or lose his own. The skull of the specimen adorned the outside of the house of the victor, as trophies do the homes of big-game hunters.

I repeat that headhunting was the most serious business and the favorite sport of the mountain people of Luzon until recent years. The practice had been indulged in by the Philippine highlanders from the most ancient times of which there are traditions. To eliminate the taking of heads was quite a problem for American and Filipino officials. The influence of the public schools, the holding of grand *cañaos* (ceremonial feasts at which dancing takes place), and athletic contests, like tugs of war, in which rivalries were settled, have been the most important factors in doing away with headhunting. By these means, the various headhunting practices have been largely checked. However, even now, the temptation to take a head is sometimes too great to be resisted, but such cases are rare and usually other causes, as robbery, are present.

In one sense I was wrong in stating that headhunting has been eliminated. The game persists in government circles. It is the practice to create new offices and positions. Then every so often officialdom becomes extremely virtuous. A committee to reorganize the government and effect economy is authorized. Heads fall right and left—and if these heads partake of the contour of officials not in the graces of the man in authority, it is excused as being for the good of the service. Governor-General Wright had his headhunting committee; Governor-General Harrison took saturnine pleasure in working the official guillotine overtime, and Governor-General Roosevelt, aided and abetted by President Manuel L. Quezón, weeded out the unneeded and undeserving.

It's all a matter of technique. The Igorots used their head-axes to snap off heads. Philippine chieftains use paper head-axes as effectively and ruthlessly.

HUNTING THE TAMARAU AND OTHER WILD GAME⁵

A hunter can prove his right to be initiated into the thirty-third degree of sportsdom by shooting a tiger in India, a lion in Africa—or a tamarau in the Philippines. The tamarau is a buffalo of a species which is only found on the Island of Mindoro in the Philippine group. He is a savage beast possessed of a notoriously bad temper and is as elusive in a wild country as he is savage. It is his habit to attack man ferociously.

The great mammals of adjacent Borneo and Sumatra and of Asia, as the elephant and orang-utang, are lacking in the Philippines. Besides the tamarau, the only other big game is the wild carabao, still to be found in the archipelago. The carabao is no relative of the caribou of Canada. The finding of the wild species of the carabao is not easy. For this reason, the suspicion will not down that tame carabaos have been driven in front of the line of fire of a Governor-General, there to be sacrificed on the altar of Philippine hospitality. At least, "One Shot Teddy" Roosevelt and his aide Colonel Van Schaick shot two carabaos in Nueva Vizcaya, and the Colonel, being a truthful man, admitted to his Rotarian cronies that the one killed by him, when he insisted that it be turned over, was branded!

Two kinds of crocodiles of sizable dimensions frequent the streams and lakes of the Islands. In one small lake on an island in San Bernardino Strait more than five hundred crocodiles were counted at one time. General Aguinaldo shot one in Pampanga Province eighteen feet long, eight feet

⁵ Section read by Dr. Hilario A. Roxas, Chief of the Fish and Game Administration, Bureau of Science. See Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, Ch. xxvii.

around, and weighing three thousand pounds, and this is by no means the largest in the Islands. A few crocodiles are man-eaters, as post mortems have disclosed.

Snakes, both venomous and harmless, of a variety of species are found. A python has been known to swallow whole a fully grown deer. Water snakes are hunted for commercial purposes.

Snipe-shooting rivals that in any community in the world. In the same class are the wild ducks. The monkey-eating eagle has been encountered in the mountainous regions of Mindanao and in other places in the Islands; it is the largest bird in the world which preys on other living animals for food. Wild hogs are abundant and deer are found in nearly all parts of the Islands. The mouse deer found on the small island of Balabac in the Philippines is no deer at all, but is closely related to the pig. The mouse deer is only about sixteen inches long and eight inches high.

To avoid the extermination of wild animals, it has been necessary for the Government to establish closed seasons.

FISHING ⁶

Philippine bodies of water encompass a fisherman's paradise. Think of catching a forty-pound tanguingui, or sailfish, or a fifty-pound pompano, or a one hundred ten pound baracuda. These are but samples, for almost two thousand species of fish, most of which are edible, are found in Philippine waters, and some fish have not even been classified. A favorite with epicureans for their delicious flavor is the lapu-lapu, of which there are twenty-four known species in the Philippines. As Philippine waters teem with fish, they can be caught in incredible numbers. Which is no fish story.

It is unnecessary to state for the benefit of Izaak Waltons

⁶ Section read by Dr. Hilario A. Roxas, Chief of the Fish and Game Administration, Bureau of Science. See Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, Ch. XXVII.

that these are salt-water fish. They are caught on a trolling line or with rod and reel. That is, fish are caught legitimately, but illegally they are killed by explosives. The sport is one for kings—and Governors-General. Often the urge of commissioners and chief executives for inspection trips has come from a desire to set forth in a launch from the gubernatorial yacht and try their luck in the piscatorial art.

Fishing is more than a sport in the Philippine Islands. It is a major Philippine industry for the reason that fresh and sun-dried fish form an important element of the native diet. An experimental station for the preservation of fish is maintained at Estancia, Province of Iloilo. Tuna fish canned under an American trade-name are actually the product of the Philippines. Fishing along the coasts and in the rivers is by fish-traps and nets; by this means local consumption is partially satisfied. Nor is this all. Fish are an agricultural product, as the Supreme Court once decided against my protest. The *semillas* (literally seeds or fry) are planted in fish-ponds. When grown they have become the milkfish or *bañgos* which are sold in the fish markets.

Perhaps a hundred boats are engaged in pearl-fishing in the waters around the Sulu Archipelago. The value of pearls sold to European buyers amounts to as much as 1,000,000 pesos (\$500,000) a year. Very fine specimens are found by divers. Some of the best-known pearls were distributed by the Sultan of Sulu on his memorable trip around the world.

Much of the deep-sea fishing, whether for fish or pearls, is done by Japanese. Where the Filipinos and Moros carry on haphazardly, the Japanese by systematic methods make fishing a successful business.

To get the thrill of a lifetime, try fishing in the Philippines.

THE DANCING PHILIPPINES⁷

The Philippines is no straight-laced Quaker settlement. Far from it. Sundays are not the long-faced Puritan Sabbaths. Not at all. In the Philippines life is one long procession of good times. Sundays and holidays, of which latter there are a medley of religious, American, and Filipino anniversaries, seem specially created for a hasty appearance at early mass to be followed by diversions of all sorts.

The dance is the popular means by which the Filipinos enjoy themselves. Clubs from the fashionable Bachelors, Smiles, and Kahirup to far less pretentious organizations in the remotest towns, exist, for the sole purpose of holding balls. The problem of the universities is to keep the number of dances which the students organize within fairly reasonable bounds. A wedding, a baptismal party, or a reception for a visitor are eagerly seized upon to provide an excuse to get up a *baile* (dance). Then the town *fiesta* and the carnivals provide opportunities for longer indulgence in the favorite pastime.

As if this were not enough, cabarets exist all over the Islands. In these establishments, the native *bailarinas* (dancing girls) prove as engaging hostesses as their sisters, the geishas of Japan, the sing-song girls of China, or the taxi dancers of America. For twenty centavos (ten cents) a dance, the *bailarinas* will trip the light fantastic in every known variation. They will also flirt with suitors with direful consequences when jealousy is inflamed to passionate deeds. The money made by these girls of a night is by no means insignificant. A few of them salt away their earnings in banks; others use their money to attend school in the daytime; others support a family or a good-for-nothing common-law husband, while still others go the pace that kills.

Santa Ana Cabaret in Manila makes the claim that it is the

⁷ Section read by Mr. Jose J. Tinsay, President of Kahirup.

largest in the world. To its hospitable doors come nocturnal wanderers of all classes—an American sailor to exhibit the latest Broadway step, a tired husband to dally with the brown girls, a Filipino clerk to dance sedately, and a society matron to climax a night of frivolity. Amidst drinks and eats, the dance goes on. A slender line divides the *bailarina* side from the society side, and a still slighter line divides the bad from the good. For the colonel's wife and the sergeant's sweetie are sisters under the skin.

The Filipinos enjoy a deserved reputation as incomparable dancers. Song is in their hearts. Art is in their veins. Rhythm is in their feet. It is a sight never to be forgotten to see a *bailarina* in native costume with *chinelas* (loose slippers), never losing a step and dancing with divine grace.

It would be strange if to these joy emporiums youth were not attracted as moths are to the flame. I know I was when as a college boy I first landed in Manila. In a strange town with nothing much to do of an evening, the outcome was inevitable. Fogelgren, a fellow clerk, and I, after much cogitation, decided we would venture forth to see a dancing school. Which we did by street car to Maypajo. Once inside the place, after ordering glasses of San Miguel beer, I received my initiation from Juanita, the queen of the *bailarinas*. Nightly thereafter, until the fever was spent, with other young blades, we wended our way to these dancing places. In such surroundings youth was tested. Some went down; others became squawmen, and the rest after enjoying themselves went their way no different than before.

Possibly I have given the impression that life in the Philippines is one interminable fox-trot. Not quite that. Serious business is interspersed between dances. And other diversions are available. Yet it is the dance which gives spice to life in the Philippines.

THE MANILA CARNIVAL⁸

The Mardi-Gras of the Orient is the Manila Carnival, held annually on historic Wallace Field in Manila during the month of February, when the climate of the Islands is at its best.

The Philippine Carnival Association was organized in 1908 by a group of civic-spirited citizens including Colonel George T. Langhorne of the United States Army, a brother of Lady Astor. In the beginning an American and foreign enterprise, the Carnival has more and more tended to become a Filipino *fiesta*. The Director General in recent years has been Arsenio N. Luz, a jolly and popular Filipino who personifies the god of pleasure.

Almost overnight the carnival city is created. First a fence is erected around the field. Inside the magician wields his wand. Buildings arise. Exhibits are installed. Joy-producing devices present themselves. Amidst intense excitement an election is held to decide on the queen of the carnival, who will reign over her happy subjects and for one year will be known as Miss Philippines. Soon the opening night arrives. The myriads of lights are turned on. There is the Carnival ready to receive the grouch and the rounder, the saint and the sinner, and for a price to give them a good time.

Governmental and commercial exhibits are a part of the Carnival. Formerly these were installed in elaborately and artistically constructed buildings. Two disastrous fires diminished the enthusiasm of the exhibitors. Also, in recent years the provinces have not been financially able to continue providing the needed backing. The result has been that to a certain extent the commercial fair leaves an impression of general decadence. However, what has been temporarily lost by the Carnival in the general artistic feature of its com-

⁸ Section read by Representative Serafin Marabut, Secretary-Treasurer of the Philippine Carnival Association.

mercial and industrial fair is more than made up by the greater emphasis it is laying on the practical promotion of the country's trade and industries by encouraging sales of articles exhibited. During the years 1932-1935, the Department of Agriculture and Commerce has taken advantage of the yearly carnival celebrations to present to the public a practical demonstration of the commercial and industrial possibilities of the Philippines and of the work that the Bureaus under it are doing for the economic development of the country.

The center of carnival life is the auditorium. This is a huge open-air dance-floor surrounded by tiers of boxes. The nightly balls are lively. The pageantry is elaborate. But costumes are not worn as much as formerly. Thousands of couples dance together to the strains of music furnished by the famous Constabulary Band and other musical organizations. The Carnival is one great dance, a thousand *fiestas* combined in one.

For sixteen glorious days and nights the frolic will go on. Then comes a chance to catch up on needed sleep and to replenish a depleted bank account.

On a smaller scale carnivals are held in Iloilo, Cebu, and other provinces. Not all are financially successful. Nevertheless, they are popular with the people, who love to dance and to have a good time.

TOWN FIESTAS ⁹

Annually every municipality celebrates the anniversary of its patron saint. It is signalized by an impressive high mass in the morning and a brilliant religious procession in the evening.

The celebration has its lighter side. It is a home-coming and town-visiting day, a miniature carnival, and a town *fiesta*

⁹ Section read by Representative Serafin Marabut, Secretary-Treasurer of the Philippine Carnival Association.

all in one. Every home of the town is hospitably thrown open. All are fed bountifully. Orchestras are present and dancing is indulged in until even the most ardent devotee is satisfied. As the dates of the *fiestas* rarely coincide, they combine to make a great circle for the display of neighborliness and hospitality.

BEACHCOMBERS

In the Philippine tropics, life is easy, too easy. The unaccustomed languor of the climate and indulgence in large quantities of native liquor lessens the moral fiber of the white man. Time lies heavy on his hands. There is every temptation to slack. The tempters are the twin consolations of liquor and women. A squalid shack. A slatternly female. A mongrel dog. A bottle of gin. How readily a man can raise a thirst. For him "there ain't no ten commandments."

These weaklings who have been taken in by the tropics and who live upon the poorer class of native women have to be rounded up by the authorities and deported as vagrants. There are not many of them in the Philippine North Seas; not as many as in the South Seas. But the breed exists, to the annoyance of better-behaved compatriots who bestir themselves as much East of Suez as West of Suez, and to the cynical amusement of Filipino onlookers.

CHAPTER XXII

PHILIPPINE CONTACTS WITH OTHER PEOPLES¹

FOREIGN COMMUNITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES²

ACCORDING to the last official census, that of 1918, foreigners in the Philippines constituted a little less than one per cent of the population, but a little more than nine per cent of the population of Manila. More specifically, the census gave the divisions of the principal foreign nationalities as follows: Chinese 43,802; Japanese, 7,806; Spaniards, 3,945; to which could be added 5,774 Americans and 2,710 of other races. Present estimates vary greatly, but according to the section of vital statistics of the Bureau of Health, the total foreign population of the Philippines is approximately 105,000. It is believed that there are in the Islands 75,000 Chinese, 20,000 Japanese, and 5,000 Spaniards.

These figures fail to tell the whole story. The Japanese very rarely intermarry with the Filipinos, but the Chinese and the Spaniards do. These last two blood streams are to be found in close to a million of the Philippine population, 700,000 being of part Chinese blood, and 200,000 being Spanish *mestizos*. So it goes without saying that the Chinese and Spanish elements are of major importance in the life of the country.

Still the figures last given fail to tell the whole story. The foreign communities exert an influence far in excess of their numerical ratio. Formerly the Spaniards dominated the poli-

¹ This chapter was read by Hon. Claro M. Recto, President of the Constitutional Convention and Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines.

² For a spicy account of a Britisher's life in the Philippines, see a cleverly written but little-known book, Walter Young, *A Merry Banker in the Far East*.

tics of the country. At present the Americans possess similar influence. And in the future it is very possible that the Chinese or the Japanese will superimpose their power on the Philippines. It would appear that even in their attempt to govern their own country, the Filipinos cannot avoid alien interference.

In the hands of the foreign group are found a large proportion of the business of the archipelago. The Chinese and the Japanese pretty well monopolize the Islands' domestic trade. Also, in the close community of Philippine merchants there are several long-established British firms of high standing. Spanish, German, French, and Swiss houses are likewise found here. Most have prospered.

The foreign communities are officially represented by their respective consuls. No diplomatic representatives will appear on the scene until Philippine independence is effectuated. A heavy burden is placed on certain of these members of the consular corps, and particularly on the Chinese Consul-General, who must look after the interests of his nationals who are continually becoming involved with the authorities. Manila and other cities have been fortunate in the high-class men who have been designated by their home governments to serve in the Philippines.

There seems to be a *camaraderie* among men in the Far East not found in those who have lived the narrower home life. The Britisher becomes less British, less formal; the German less German, less rigid; the Chinese less Chinese, less mysterious; the Japanese less Japanese, less profusely polite; the Spaniard less Spanish, less proud, and the American less American, less impetuous. Over their drinks and in their clubs men become men and not signposts of their national idiosyncrasies.

CULTURAL CONNECTIONS WITH SPAIN³

Already four decades have elapsed since Spain withdrew from the Philippines. Yet despite the fairly long separation, Spain's culture continues to be felt all over the country. Daily, Filipinos converse in the language of Castile; worship in the churches which Spain's influence erected; observe the laws which Spain granted them, and exhibit Spanish mannerisms.

Wherefore such preference for things Spanish?

The answer is obvious. The long Spanish domination of the Islands firmly embedded Spanish ideas. Spanish officials and Spanish missionaries mixed with the people, and through precept and example, changed the mode of life of the Filipinos.

Spain once controlled Philippine commerce, but that is past history. Today Spain retains but a trifling portion of Philippine trade. What Philippine-Spanish trade is now carried on is steadily decreasing and is relatively unimportant. Yet it is interesting to note that Spain is a large consumer of Philippine tobacco, in fact stands next to the United States in this respect.

The Spanish group in the Philippines is not large. Altogether but four thousand Spaniards are officially registered at the Spanish Consulate in Manila, but there must be at least another one thousand residing in the Islands who consider themselves Spaniards. Half of the Spanish population is concentrated in Manila.

The Spanish community in Manila constitutes an interesting group. Their rendezvous, social and otherwise, is *El Casino Español*, a Spanish club, a consulate, and a chamber of commerce all in one. The Spanish *Casino*, artistic in design and conveniently located, furnishes a fit setting for the little Spanish world. Spanish charity is best exemplified in the

³ Section read by Don Andres Soriano, President of the *Camara de Comercio Española* (Spanish Chamber of Commerce).

magnificent *Hospital de Santiago*, situated just outside of Manila, and the *Fondo Beneficio Español*, which renders help to destitute compatriots.

The Spanish language, and with it Spanish culture, is fighting a losing battle with English-speaking and partly Americanized Filipino youths. Yet love and respect for the former mother country should and will persist in the Philippines for ages to come. *Viva España!*

THE CHINESE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES ⁴

The ubiquitous Chinese are found in every country on the globe. The Philippines is no exception. Indeed, despite an ungracious reception, the Chinese have exhibited a marked predilection for residence in the Philippines. In the Chinese quarter of Manila alone, there are thirty thousand celestials. Numbering one-half of one per cent of the total population, the Philippine Chinese are responsible for another five per cent of Filipinos through whose veins course the mixed blood which has given vigor, mental and physical, to the Philippine race. It was in this wise that the Chinese penetrated, settled, and conquered the Philippines.

The influence of the Chinese on the Philippines has been marked for centuries. As far back as the Chou dynasty (1122–249 B. C.) traders from Cathay came to barter with the natives of the Islands. With the arrival of the Spaniards the Chinese continued to come to the Philippines as merchants and as settlers. Under the Spanish and American régimes, much of the retail and a considerable portion of the wholesale trade passed into the hands of the Chinese. A conservative estimate is that fully one-half of the Philippine trade is now controlled by the Chinese, and formerly the percentage was much higher.

⁴ Section read by a prominent member of the Chinese Community of Manila. See Berthold Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands* (1907).

The Chinese were called by the Spaniards *Sangleyes*, derived from a word of the Amoy dialect *Siang-Lai*, meaning "who comes." The Spaniards bore down heavily on the *Sangleyes*. Yet taxed heavily, exploited by government officials, even persecuted, the Chinese continued to thrive. Their success is a credit to their pertinacity. Then with American occupation came Chinese exclusion laws. The legal barrier keeps the Islands from being flooded with cheap Chinese labor. Still it is curious how many Chinese manage to enter the Islands in divers ways. The more unscrupulous among the Chinese merchants invariably has a wife in China, and the wife invariably bears him boys, seven, eight, nine, ten boys eligible to entry.

The industry of the Chinese is proverbial. While the Filipino or the Spanish *mestizo* is engaged in dancing and spending, the Chinese is working and saving. As their standard of living is low, as long hours of work count, and as thrift tells, even under adverse conditions the Chinese prosper. The Chinese coolie carrying heavy loads across his shoulders becomes the *tienda*-keeper on the corner with sales for a *centavo* here and a *centavo* there, and the *tienda*-keeper becomes the corpulent and wealthy merchant who is baptized a Christian and who marries a daughter of the country. In a generation the Chinese merchant's children are accepted as *mestizos* or Filipinos. The Yangcos, the Lichaucos, the Tiangcos, the Cojuangcos, the Tambuntings, the Limjaps, the Lacsons, the Tans, the Lims are merely surnames adapted from ideographs to Roman letters; and the Rizals, the Aguinaldos, the Osmeñas, the Aranetas, to mention a few well-known names, have Chinese forbears in their families.

Do not get the impression that the Chinaman is miserly, for he is not. On occasion he is a "good sport." What celebrations were held on Chinese New Year! What beautiful gifts he made to Filipinos, Americans, or foreigners—always in the right quarter—and the highest officials accepted them as a mat-

ter of course! What wonderful banquets the rich merchants gave—twenty to thirty courses, liquor aplenty, hospitality so bountiful as to make the occasion an ordeal—but still an ordeal to be anticipated by the numerous guests!

Chiefly because of their dominant economic position and partly out of envy, the local Chinese are disliked by the Filipino masses. In the past terrible massacres of the Chinese have occurred, and in recent times anti-Chinese riots have not been unknown. Taal, a town in the Province of Batangas, is one place where Chinese cannot be found—not even one. Here traditional Filipino hospitality has gone into reverse and no Chinaman cares to tarry where the signs are inescapable that not only is his presence not desired, but that he had better move on quickly.

The high standard of honesty of the individual Chinese in the Philippines in his business dealings has long been favorably commented upon. The merchant who could not liquidate his obligations on Chinese New Year was the exception. But that standard of ethics and that practice, generally speaking, are of the past. Bankers now require good collateral before making loans to Chinese merchants, and representatives of commercial houses are most frank in telling of Chinese duplicity. Of course, there still remain many Chinese merchants of the old school of high business standing. The Sy Cip brothers, Alfonso and Albino, the former the President of the Philippine General Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and the latter the Vice President of the China Banking Corporation, and Dee C. Chuan, lumber prince and public-spirited citizen who recently served his country well, are examples of the respected Chinese business men.

The Chinese of the Philippines have been known as a peaceful race not interested in the politics of the country and content if left alone to pursue their business dealings without molestation. True, some of them might engage in tong wars among themselves and might be unable to resist puffing at

their opium pipes. But on the whole the authorities looked for little trouble from them. Unfortunately, that is also changing for the worse, for during recent years have occurred hold-ups by men of the Chinese race.

The Chinese conquered the Philippines peaceably by becoming part of the country and by reason of persistent thrift. The Philippine Chinese in turn have been conquered by Philippine vices. It is too bad for there was no more picturesque figure than the shrewd, jolly, rotund Chinese merchant who dearly loved to get the better of his adversary in a deal, but whose word was his bond. Slowly he is retreating, borne down into the maelstrom by too keen competition and by shifty business methods.

NEW JAPAN ⁵

If you will take a look at the map of the Philippine Islands, you will see on the southeastern end of the Island of Mindanao the Province of Davao with the little city of Davao as the capital. Davao Province occupies part of the Agusan Valley and the coastal plains around Davao Gulf. Its climate is agreeable. The rainfall is evenly distributed throughout the year. The region is free from typhoons. The soil is fertile. The mountains are covered with hardwood forests, and on the mountain slopes grows grass suitable for cattle-raising. Mineral wealth is abundant. Fish off the coast are plentiful. The chief products are *abaca* (hemp) and *copra*, which are exported. Davao is exceptionally rich in natural resources.

⁵ Section read by Hon. Julian A. Rodriguez, Representative for Davao in the Philippine Legislature. For a geographical sketch and an historical account of Davao, see *Census of the Philippine Islands* (1918), Vol 1, pp. 151-154. For more recent information, see *Davao Directory* (1934), edited by Nicolas P. Pacifico, including an article prepared by Hon. Toyoji Kaneko, Consul of Japan in Davao. Credit must be given to a carefully prepared report on conditions in Davao, prepared by the late Governor Early of the staff of the Governor-General, which I was privileged to read.

Prison and Penal Farm near Zamboanga; the Iwahig Penal Colony on the Island of Palawan; the Davao Penal Colony recently authorized; the Civil Prison maintained on Corregidor Island, and the correctional institutions for women prisoners and the training-schools for boys and girls on the outskirts of Manila.

Bilibid Prison is badly located and overly populated. In spite of these handicaps, it is carefully administered. The inmates are taught trades at which they become adept. Bilibid furniture of rattan is a trade-name well known even outside the Islands. The Bilibid prisoners possess an *esprit de corps* which is amazing. They seem to take particular pride in evening retreat held at 4:30 every afternoon, and their impressive ceremony is ever of interest to tourists. Attempts to escape occur and occasionally succeed, but a general prison outbreak has never been known.

The death penalty is authorized in the Philippines and is accomplished by means of the electric chair. Great care is taken to avoid a miscarriage of justice in this class of cases. The law requires the elevation of the record to the Supreme Court for review whenever the death penalty is imposed in the trial court, and the concurrence of all the members of the Supreme Court.

The prison system is complemented by the provincial and municipal jails. Possibly complemented is too complimentary a word to use. Probably handicapped would be nearer the truth. The sanitary equipment of these jails is deficient. Prisoners, especially the women, are often abused by their jailers. This on the one hand. On the other hand, prisoners are allowed their freedom and are permitted to sleep at home. One enterprising provincial governor who had been authorized to use prisoners to construct a road gave a dance in their honor at which they passed delightful hours with the village belles.

This is Davao, the New Japan.

According to the 1918 census, less than 8,000 Japanese then resided in the Philippines, of whom more than one-half lived in Davao Province. It is estimated that there are now some 20,000 Japanese in the Islands. They have tended to group themselves principally in Davao, where 13,000 sons and daughters of Nippon are to be found, and to a lesser extent in Manila and Baguio. In other words, a reason existed in each case for the concentration of Japanese nationals; in Davao attracted by its hemp, *copra*, lumber, and fishing industries; in Manila on account of wholesale and retail trade, and in Baguio because of a salubrious climate quite similar to that found in Japan's Hakone region.

Japan's association with the Philippines began early. That country had had considerable commerce with the Philippines before the Spaniards came to Luzon, and several settlements are attributed to them. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, Manila has had a colony of Japanese. Neither so numerous nor so persistent as the Chinese in ancient times, it is only in recent years that the Japanese have asserted themselves. To the growth of Baguio the Japanese contributed. In the trade of Manila and the Islands the Japanese have interested themselves, to the dismay of the Chinese. And to Davao the Japanese have drifted, to make of it literally a New Japan.

The Japanese have had entirely different ideas from those of the Chinese relative to their relations with the Filipinos. The Chinese readily intermarried with the Filipinos, discarded their own habits, and became to all intents and purposes Filipinos. On the other hand, the Japanese brought many women with them, retained their own customs and habits, and remained Japanese.

Similarly with trade. It is Japan for the Japanese. Imports of Japanese goods into the Philippines have mounted to nearly three times the exports of Philippine products to Japan.

K. Yamasaki, the general manager in Manila of the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, is careful to explain that this unfavorable balance of trade may partially be attributed to the fact that the needs of Japan have not completely been known in the Philippines. Even with that explanation, the score of two or three to one in favor of Japan remains.

One industry, the fishing industry, the Japanese pretty well dominate because of their better preparedness. Most of the fishing crafts are owned and manned by the Japanese. They make use of modern methods in deep sea fishing in Philippine waters. To shut off the supply of fish, one of the two staple foods of the Filipinos, would be a real hardship, yet dependence on that supply must be placed on the Japanese.

To return to consideration of Davao. More than one-third of the population are pagan Mandayas and Bagobos. The Japanese have taken over the arable lands of these unprogressive peoples and of easily persuaded Filipino owners by devious means, legal or otherwise. Japanese corporations and individual Japanese control 150,000 acres of agricultural land, and many more acres of forest land, which when logged off is valuable for hemp and coconuts. Alarmed by Japanese inroads, the Public Land Law was amended in 1919 in such manner as to prohibit the purchase or lease of public lands by the Japanese.

To give the Japanese due credit, it must be conceded that they were chiefly instrumental in turning a wilderness into the most important hemp-producing center in the world and in developing untouched natural resources. The pagans were unprepared to harvest the riches of their lands. The attempts to do so by the Moros, the Filipinos, and the Americans were unavailing. It was left for the Japanese to move in and accomplish what the other nationalities were unable to accomplish.



ABACA (HEMP) GROWN IN DAVAO

The gentleman in the foreground is Mr. M. M. ("Hemp") Saleeby, former Chief of the Fiber Division, Bureau of Agriculture.

The Davao custom-house figures ⁶ show the United States leading in exports with Japan not far behind, show Japan controlling the import trade, and show that of the foreign vessels calling at Davao in 1934, there was only one American to every twenty-five Japanese. Fully eighty per cent of the business is in the hands of the Japanese.

Early in 1935 I visited Davao for the purpose of making a personal re-check of the situation in that much discussed province. From my steamer, which by the way was Japanese, Mount Apo was silhouetted in the distance as Fujiyama is in Japan. The analogy continued as I landed in the City of Davao. Except for the names of importing and exporting houses on buildings near the docks, I would have thought that I was arriving in Japan. If I had not known otherwise, no one could have convinced me that I was in the Philippines. Japanese-speaking people. Japanese stores selling Japanese goods. Japanese schools. A fine Japanese hospital. A well-organized Japanese association. A Japanese Consulate. And outside of the City the Japanese social center at Mintal and Japanese plantations and industries. As one well-informed official whom I may not name aptly phrased it, the Japanese

⁶ Value of exports in pesos, from Davao in 1934:

United States	4,532,868
Japan	3,195,515
Total exports including other countries	10,073,276

Value of imports to Davao in 1934:

United States	23,834
Japan	558,722
Total imports including other countries	692,310

Number of vessels engaged in high sea commerce trading at port of Davao in 1934:

American	4
Japanese	98
British	31
Total including other countries	151

Statistics furnished by Mr. Emilio Velez, Collector of Customs at Davao.

"have an efficient government of their own which functions within the provincial government."

Davao, the Manchukuo of the Philippines—the New Japan. *Banzai!*

THE YELLOW PERIL ⁷

It is easy to become mawkishly emotional or deliberately sensational in dealing with a subject comprehended within the popularly coined phrase "The Yellow Peril." It is not my desire to be either. I think I know the Filipinos, and I have made lasting friendships among the Chinese and the Japanese. Indeed, the Imperial University of Tokyo honored me with the degree of *Hogaku Hakushi* (Doctor of Laws). I would not wilfully hurt the feelings of these good people. On the other hand, fact-finding harms no one. I propose to give the facts.

The first fact to which I would direct attention is one of geography. Let me ask you to turn again to your map of the world and look at Asia on the Pacific side. You will see China bordering on the coast line. Even without Chosen (Korea) or Manchukuo (Manchuria), which the Japanese dominate, it is a sizable country one and one-half times as large as the United States. Paralleling the Eastern coast of Asia for two thousand miles from the Kurile Islands in the north to (Taiwan) Formosa in the south are a string of Islands—all Japanese. But a step beyond to the south are the Philippine Islands, so near to Japan that on a clear day Japan and Philippine lands are visible to each other. Over to the east of the Philippines, between the Philippines and Hawaii, are three archipelagos, the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls, mandated to Japan by the Treaty of Versailles. To the south of the Philippines is another group of islands which

⁷ See J. Ralston Hayden, "China, Japan, and the Philippines," *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1933, p. 711, and Carlos P. Romulo and others, *Changing Tides in the Far East* (1934).

spread out into the East Indies and are under Dutch and British overlordship. To the west of the Philippines is China, less than a couple of days' sailing-distance away, along with British Hongkong, Portuguese Macao, and French Indo-China.

Other considerations force out of the picture all but two geographically near neighbors, China and Japan. The Philippines is within easy reach of these two countries.

The next fact to which I would direct attention is one of population. The fourteen million Filipinos spread out over more than one hundred thousand square miles leave room for millions more of settlers. Japan, on the other hand, has close to one hundred million subjects jammed into an area not much bigger than the Philippines. China, with one-fourth of the world's population within its borders, is even more crowded. These yellow races are breeding five or six times faster than the white race, and faster even than the brown race. The Japanese population, for instance, is increasing at the rate of one million a year. Manchukuo has furnished an outlet for some of China's excess hordes and for Japanese commercial and political expansion. Also, although the Japanese seem reluctant to leave the homeland, colonies of them are found in Brazil and other South American countries. In 1933, I travelled from Hongkong to South America by way of South Africa, and on the boat were over one thousand carefully selected emigrants on their way to the São Paulo region in Brazil. But South America affords slight relief, although Paraguay, I understand, is willing to admit thousands of Japanese. The main problem remains as before. The pressure of population constitutes perplexing questions for China and Japan and becomes more perplexing each year.

The deduction is inescapable that China and Japan need the unutilized lands of the Philippines for the overflow of their increasingly large populations.

The next fact to which I would direct attention is one of

current history. China is no longer the remote place of queer customs, pretty bric-a-brac, and pig-tailed laundrymen. Even harassed as she is by Japan's unwelcome attentions, by communist-fomented strife, by bandit raids, and by internal civil war, China is a world power. When and if China awakes to the knowledge of her might, exclusion laws will prove slight barriers to Chinese penetration of the Philippines.

Japan is no longer the medieval Shogun State of picturesque temples, pretty geishas, and perfervid politeness. Japan is united, restive, and aggressive. She possesses a navy only slightly less strong than the American or British navies and an army that surpasses any other in Asia in size, equipment, and training, and which equals any in Europe. Japan's truculence was evidenced by her seizure of Manchuria and her invasion of Shanghai and North China.

Mighty Japan would not be inclined to brook any interference with her development of the Philippine market or with the rights of her citizens. Is it any wonder then that the Filipinos have misgivings as to their future, and that the bogey man which keeps them awake at night is a Japanese monster?

The next fact to which I would direct attention is found in the field of international politics. Japan has in effect announced an Asiatic Monroe doctrine with Japan in the rôle of guardian. It is to be Asia and the Asiatics acting under the leadership of Japan. It is to be Japan paramount in China, superintending Chinese activities, and decreeing a hands-off Chinese policy for other powers. The United States is in no position to protest Japanese hegemony in the Orient, for in the Lansing-Ishii notes of 1917, the United States recognized that "territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries."

The Filipinos are quick to realize that the Japanese Asiatic Monroe Doctrine asserts a Japanese guardianship of the Philippines—capable of realization the moment the Phil-

ippines is made independent. China's potential power and Japan's actual premier position in the Far East are actualities which cannot be blinked at.

Chinese and Japanese have many times voiced friendly sentiments for the Filipinos. China is not as yet in a position to negative her best wishes for the new republic, but Japan is. Let us ponder this point for a moment.

Japanese spokesmen, official and unofficial, have repeatedly disclaimed any purpose to exercise either commercial or political influence over the Philippines after the withdrawal of the United States. The reasons given are these: The Japanese respect the rights of other nations (the Chinese think otherwise); the Japanese do not like the tropics (a colony of theirs is found in a sizzling hot region of Brazil); the Japanese would not gain by absorbing the Philippines, and like the United States would find them expensive (the Japanese have been drawn to Davao in Mindanao, and that island is the treasure house of the Islands).

Before me lies a beautifully bound anniversary edition of *Asahi*, great Japanese newspaper, dated July, 1934, in which appears this enlightening sentence: "Japan entertains no territorial ambitions, *but she has a population of nearly one hundred million.*" It is the millions of Japanese multiplying beyond the capacity of the land to supply their needs and unwelcome in other lands—this is the force, the inexhaustible energy behind Asiatic Monroeism, behind Japan's home and foreign policy. Moreover, it is a perfectly understandable national policy, this desire to safeguard one's citizens. And in its propagation small nations can claim few rights, particularly when one such small nation is a near neighbor who leaves her wealth exposed and unprotected.

Philippine assimilation by China or Japan is not so unthinkable as it seems. The Chinese already pretty well dominate Philippine commerce, and the Japanese are steadily gaining the Islands' trade. Many of the leading Filipinos are

the descendants of Malay-Chinese ancestors. The Malay strain in the Japanese, particularly in Japan's southern island of Kiushiu, is noticeable. The most evident hurt to Filipino feelings would come from differences of religion and culture. Yet in the near future such wounds would be alleviated and finally healed. The law of the bigger nation beating down the little nation and either absorbing it or controlling it is as certain as any biological law.

The yellow peril exists. The facts derived from geography, population, history, and international politics prove it. Providence grant that I may be wrong in my reasoning, and that the Filipinos may find a way to perpetuate their national existence. But I very much doubt if that way can be found.

FILIPINOS ABROAD

In the year 982 A. D. a band of Philippine Islanders visited Canton, China, for trade. This is the earliest authentic account of Filipinos abroad. But it was not to be the last.

Thereafter the Filipinos became great wanderers. Manila men served as sailors on merchant ships. Even today New Orleans in the United States has a little colony of Filipinos who came there long before the present American-Philippine relations were formed. Other Filipino youths studied in Europe. This in Spanish times. In recent years Filipinos have faced toward the United States for educations and for adventure, with Hawaii and California claiming the largest numbers. Organizations of Filipinos have been provided in the United States, but it has been difficult to get the Filipinos residing there to unite effectively, and many of them have been duped by spurious societies.

Considerable groups of Filipinos are found in foreign countries. In Spain the Filipinos are numerous enough to have a Philippine-Spanish society. Filipino musicians have been much sought after and are able to pursue their avocations in

practically all foreign countries. Possibly five thousand would be a fair estimate of the number of Filipinos living abroad outside of the United States.

During the existence of the Philippine Commonwealth the foreign affairs of the Philippines will continue under the direct control of the United States. From this the deduction might be drawn that the Philippines will have some supervised foreign relations. However, it is unlikely that the Philippine Commonwealth will attempt to maintain diplomatic and consular representatives in foreign countries. Philippine citizens will as before travel on Philippine passports and will look to American protection when in foreign lands.

An encouraging sign has been the increasingly travel-mindedness of the better class of Filipinos. At home, however, most of them continue to know less of their native country than Americans and foreigners do.

CITIZENSHIP

While Puerto Ricans have been declared to be citizens of the United States, Filipinos have never been regarded as American citizens. Filipinos have simply been described as citizens of the Philippine Islands, and for purposes of recognition abroad as American nationals. Too complicated a subject for entire elucidation, suffice it to say that residence and birth in the Philippines have constituted the main considerations in determining Philippine citizenship. The Philippine Constitution wisely perpetuated the same principles. The Constitution also took cognizance of the anomaly of one of the members of the Convention which drafted that document, Dr. Fermin Caram, born in the Philippines of Syrian parents, not being considered a Philippine citizen, by including a clause to cover his case. It is a dual sort of citizenship which the Filipinos possess, owing allegiance both to the United States and the Philippine Commonwealth.

The Philippine Legislature has provided a method for naturalization. Philippine citizenship may now be acquired by three classes of persons: (1) natives of the Philippines who are not citizens thereof; (2) natives of the insular possessions of the United States; and (3) citizens of the United States, or foreigners who under the laws of the United States may become citizens of the latter country if residing therein. The foreigners referred to in the last clause include Europeans, some Asiatics belonging to the white race, and persons of African descent. As a consequence, Asiatics who belong to the yellow and brown races, such as Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Malays, and Hindus, cannot become Philippine citizens by naturalization because they cannot become American citizens under the laws of the United States. Any woman married to a citizen of the Philippine Islands and who might herself be lawfully naturalized is deemed a Philippine citizen.

The only qualification for a native of the Philippines to be able to acquire Philippine citizenship is that he must not be less than twenty-one years of age. The other persons who are permitted to become Philippine citizens must, in addition to the age clause, have the following qualifications: (1) residence in the Philippines for a continuous period of not less than five years; (2) irreproachable conduct during this period; (3) be the holder in the Philippines of real estate worth not less than 1,000 pesos (\$500) or have some trade or profession, and (4) be able to speak and write English, Spanish, or some native tongue.

Comparatively few foreigners have taken advantage of the Philippine Naturalization Law; not more than five hundred since the law was enacted in 1920. Of the applicants for Philippine citizenship, the Spaniards and the Chinese of Philippine birth have predominated. The Japanese have characteristically preferred to remain Japanese, and there are just three cases of Japanese applying for naturalization to become Philippine citizens.

NEUTRALIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES⁸

Whenever the independence of the Philippines has been debated, the question has arisen of how to render secure an autonomous or sovereign Philippine Government. Some have argued in favor of an American protectorate. Others have favored perpetual neutralization of the Philippines. Now with the approval of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, the United States will be responsible for the Philippines until Philippine independence shall have been achieved, but not thereafter. Also, with the approval of that law, all pretensions at obtaining a relationship with the United States, somewhat akin to that formerly had by Cuba, have gone by the boards. It is to be perpetual neutralization or nothing.

All that the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law contains on the subject is one section, wherein the President of the United States is requested "at the earliest practicable date, to enter into negotiations with foreign powers with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippine Islands, if and when Philippine independence shall have been achieved." A neutralized state as here contemplated is one which by international agreement is bound to abstain from offensive hostilities and from acts which would involve such hostilities, in consideration for the guarantee of its independence and integrity. The Philippines would be in this category, and the President of the United States could solicit a treaty by which foreign powers, like Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Japan, and China, together with the United States, would guarantee the integrity of the Republic of the Philippines.

It is altogether too early to speculate on the practicability of a treaty intended to protect the Philippines against aggres-

⁸ See Jose M. Aruego, *Principles of Political Science* (1932), pp. 112-114, and Roberto Regala, *Neutralization and the Philippines* (1935).

sion. The Philippines has yet to indicate a desire to become a neutralized state. So far as known, the United States has not taken the initial steps. The views of the other interested powers, except Japan, are unknown. Unofficial opinion in Japan has expressed itself as favorable to the plan, and that at least is an encouraging sign.

Will the great powers be willing to assume joint responsibility for the future of the Philippine Republic? Will the Philippines be safe as a perpetually neutralized state? Will the Philippines become another Belgium, and the treaty another scrap of paper? Thought-provoking questions.

CHAPTER XXIII

PRESENT-DAY AMERICAN-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS

AUTHORITY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ¹

ONE very evident fact not generally understood is the important nature of the authority lodged in the President of the United States during the existence of the Commonwealth Government in the Philippines. The Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law took the vast powers granted the Governor-General under former laws, and with the exception of a small remnant of power which stayed with the United States High Commissioner, handed over these powers to an autonomous Philippine administration. But the responsibility which the United States had to carry during the transition period had to be given to someone, and the most effective method was to confer it on the President of the United States. Before this he possessed general authority under war conditions and civil practice; now that authority is itemized.

Not for the purpose of wearying the reader, but to back up the above statement, consider for a moment the purport of the provisions of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law which are enumerated:

1. The Constitution approved by the Constitutional Convention had to be submitted to the President for his determination of whether or not it conformed with the provisions, mandatory or otherwise, of the enabling act.

2. When an election of officers had been held as provided

¹ Section read by the Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department.

for in the Constitution, the President issued a proclamation announcing the results of the election as preliminary to the institution of the new government.

3. On the fourth day of July immediately following expiration of a ten-year period from the date of the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government, the President of the United States will issue another proclamation to provide for the withdrawal and surrender of American sovereignty, and at the same time will invite other governments to recognize the independence of the Philippines.

4. Every duly adopted amendment to the Constitution of the Philippines must be submitted to the President for approval.

5. Acts of the Philippine Legislature affecting currency, coinage, imports, exports, and immigration do not become laws until approved by the President.

6. No loans can be contracted by the Commonwealth of the Philippines in foreign countries without the approval of the President.

7. Foreign affairs of the Commonwealth of the Philippines are placed under the direct control of the United States, that is, under the Secretary of State, acting pursuant to the supervisory authority of the President.

8. The President has the right to call into the service all armed forces organized by the Philippine Government.

9. The President may by proclamation exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and for the maintenance of the government as provided in the Constitution thereof, and for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty and for the discharge of governmental obligations under and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

10. The President has the authority to suspend the taking effect of or the operation of laws, contracts, or executive orders

of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines under specified conditions.

11. The President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines makes an annual report to the President of the proceedings and operations of the Government of the Commonwealth.

12. At least one year prior to Philippine independence, a conference of representatives of the Government of the United States to be appointed by the President and representatives of the Commonwealth of the Philippines is to be held for the purpose of formulating recommendations as to trade relations between the two countries.

13. Within two years after recognition of the independence of the Philippines, the President is empowered to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Philippines for the adjustment and settlement of all questions regarding the naval reservations and fueling stations of the United States in the Philippines.

14. The President may conclude a treaty with foreign powers for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippines.

Surely all of these powers, singly and together, permit the President of the United States to do almost anything he may desire with the Commonwealth Government.

It is not to be expected that the President will find time to perform these varied duties personally and directly. American Chief Executives perforce must possess a general understanding of Philippine and oriental problems, which I found during conferences with Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt they did possess, but naturally are forced to lean heavily on American officials specially selected for the purpose, for expert advice. In the Philippines the representative of the President of the United States will be the United States High Commissioner. At the national capitol the Philippines will undoubtedly remain under the jurisdic-

tion of the War Department acting through the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

The nearest approach to an American colonial office is the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department, which was originally organized in December, 1898. This Bureau acts as the intermediary in matters of administration between the civil government of the United States and the civil government of the Philippines. Its work has been performed in a way to draw forth words of praise from American and Filipino officials alike. Among other things, the Bureau has handled financial matters for the Philippines without a loss. It has also furnished none too well posted members of Congress with accurate information on Philippine questions. Its exceptional record has been made possible because of the high character of the Chiefs of the Bureau and its personnel. Major General Frank McIntyre, following retirement from his post as head of the Bureau, continued to make available his vast knowledge of Philippine affairs as Philippine Trade Commissioner to the United States. The present Chief of the Bureau, Brigadier General Creed F. Cox, is an executive of proven experience, sympathetic understanding, and marked ability. No one need fear that Philippine matters in Washington are not capably handled.

THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ²

In the United States, citizens are familiar with the title "Governor." There are also "Commissioners" galore. It remained for the Philippine Islands to provide more flamboyant appendages for American officials. "Civil Governor" was thought not impressive enough, and also there were a number of provincial officials with the title "Governor," so in the early days of the American administration in the Philippines

² Section read by the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department.

it was changed to "Governor-General." Likewise with "Commissioner," it was felt that it did not quite carry the proper ring of authority, so before it the word "High" was inserted. The title "High Commissioner" was invented for practical reasons, and as understood in official circles is a high ranking official, frequently with the rank of Ambassador. It gives a right, sonorous sound as you intone: "His Excellency, the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands."

As this is written all that we have to go on in an effort to describe the office of the United States High Commissioner is a law providing for a United States High Commissioner to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, and an appointment to fill that position. Only experience will show how the scheme will work. It is fair to assume that the High Commissioner will act in entire good faith and in such a manner as not to give the impression of meddling in the internal administration of the Islands. If the official is wise he will not forget for a single moment that he is not the Governor-General possessing the powers which the Governor-General formerly exercised, and that he is not the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, but simply a Commissioner to the Commonwealth Government. Tact and diplomacy, coupled with the retention of Filipino good will, can well be made the basic planks of American policy. For while the President of the United States, acting through the High Commissioner, retains drastic authority, to make use of it unadvisedly would only furnish ammunition for anti-imperialistic outcries.

In providing for a United States High Commissioner, the Congress was confronted with a delicate problem. The Filipinos objected to any excessive lodgment of power with the United States High Commissioner which would be destructive of Filipino autonomy. On the other hand, American sovereignty was to continue, and with American sovereignty went responsibility to safeguard that sovereignty. The balance

was struck by retaining the minimum of reserved powers for the President and the High Commissioner that were essential to protect American interests, and by granting the maximum of autonomous powers to the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth. In the language of President Roosevelt on the occasion of the signing of the Constitution of the Philippines, "During the period of the Commonwealth, there will remain with the Government of the United States authority commensurate with and necessary for or appropriate to the ultimate responsibilities of sovereignty."

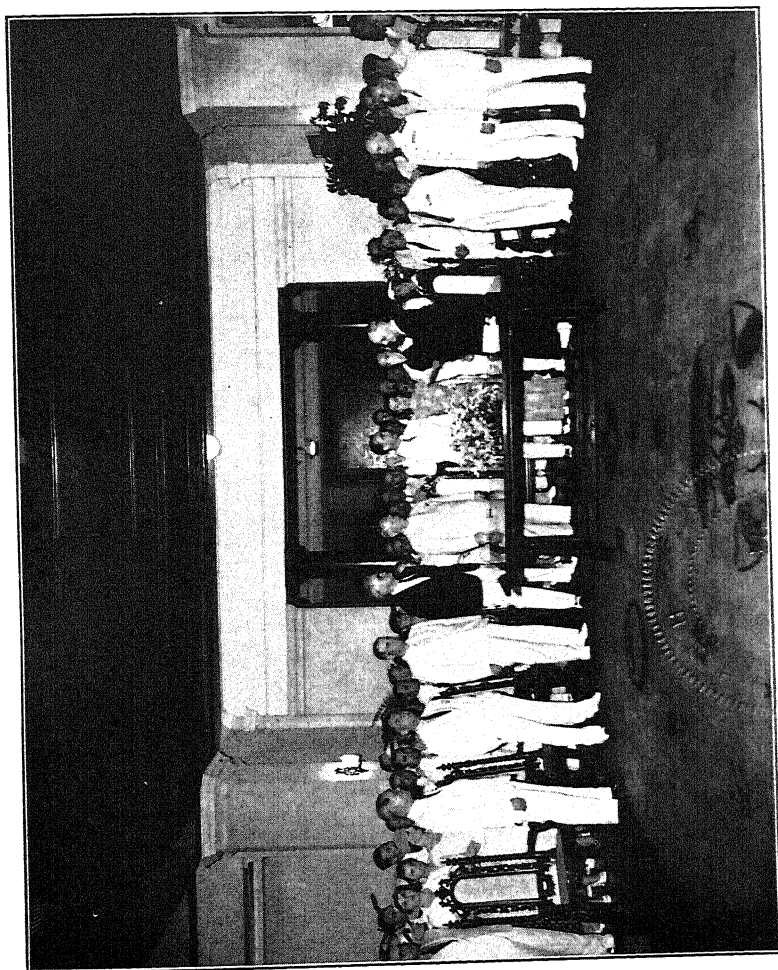
The United States High Commissioner is appointed by the President of the United States by and with the consent of the Senate, and holds office at the pleasure of the President. The High Commissioner receives the same compensation as was received by the Governor-General, that is 36,000 pesos (\$18,000) annually, but Malacañan Palace will not be for his occupancy. Instead, the Congress provided close to a million dollars to erect a splendid edifice for the High Commissioner's establishment, on a site made of reclaimed land, adjoining the Elks and Army and Navy Clubs on Dewey Boulevard in the City of Manila. A staff, including a legal adviser and a financial expert, is provided for the office of the High Commissioner.

The High Commissioner is to be recognized as the representative of the President of the United States in the Philippines by the Commonwealth Government, by the Commanding Officers of the armed forces, and by all civilian officials of the United States in the Islands. One important duty of the High Commissioner relates to the payment of indebtedness and the fulfilment of contracts by the Philippine Commonwealth. The authority of the United States High Commissioner is recognized in the Constitution of the Philippines.

The first United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands assumed office upon the inauguration of the new

HONORABLE FRANK MURPHY
TAKING THE OATH OF OF-
FICE AS UNITED STATES
HIGH COMMISSIONER

In the front row, left to right, are Vice President of the Philippines Sergio Osmeña, President of the Philippines Manuel L. Quezon, Secretary of War George H. Dern, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Joseph W. Byrnes, Vice President of the United States John N. Garner, United States High Commissioner Frank Murphy, Mrs. Marguerite Murphy Teahan, Justice George A. Malcolm, Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives Quintin Paredes, Admiral Orin G. Murphy, and Vice Governor Joseph R. Hayden.



Government. He is Hon. Frank Murphy, who found it not difficult to pass from the office of Governor-General to the office of High Commissioner. It was the logical choice. Mr. Murphy's outstanding record as the Islands' Chief Executive, his close relations with the Filipino leaders, and the confidence reposed in him by the President of the United States, were considerations which demanded that he continue on the job.

THE VANISHING AMERICANS IN THE PHILIPPINE
SERVICE ³

It is Resident Commissioner Pedro Guevara, speaking on the floor of the United States Congress. The occasion is eventful. The House has just passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act granting the Philippines independence. The Commissioner inspired to typical Filipino eloquence says:

I wish also to disabuse the mind of the gentleman from California (Mr. Swing) and others who may harbor in their minds the same feeling, that when this bill becomes effective the Philippine Commonwealth will put out of their jobs those faithful Americans who have served the Philippine Government for many, many years.

I wish to say now, in the name of the Philippine people, that not only will we want to retain them but we are going to bring some more Americans out there to help the people of the Philippine Islands build up the economic and political structure of their government. In what position would the Filipino people be placed if they put out of their service the Americans who have served their government for thirty years, after the United States has so generously granted them their independence which other peoples in the world have won only through bloodshed and hardships? [Applause]

I for one, as long as I live, will use all the influence I can command and will fight to keep those faithful Americans in the government of the Philippines.

³ Section read by Mr. C. W. Franks, Secretary to six Governors-General.

Beautiful sentiments. Possibly good hard sense. Unfortunately politics rarely recognizes either sentiment or sense. Too many Filipino job-hunters have to be satisfied for there to be retention of the services of Americans with the Philippine Commonwealth. Possibly a few Americans will linger on in insecure tenures of office. Out will go the rest of the faithful public servants.

During the early formative period, the Philippine Government was administered principally by Americans. In 1903 the number of Americans in the Philippine service was about equal to the number of Filipinos—2,777 Americans and 2,697 Filipinos. Rapidly the ratio changed. One thousand of the American employees were eased out of the Government under the ingenious Osmeña Retirement Law of 1916. When the Philippine Commonwealth was inaugurated, the number of Americans had further decreased to three hundred-odd in the active service of the Government. The three hundred will day by day dwindle away toward zero. The remaining American civil officials will be those on the United States High Commissioner's staff, an American consular representative, and a few stray Americans with the Commonwealth Government.

The Civil Service in the Philippines was never made a life-long career for Americans. I tried to make it so for myself by deliberately entering the Philippine service for a career and by deliberately shunning outside offers. But even with my fine resolution and with appointment to a supposedly life position on the Supreme Bench, like the rest of American officials I have had to bow to the inevitable, which I have cheerfully done.

Possibly it is not for me to sing the praises of Americans who have served the Philippine Government, being one of them, yet I cannot resist the temptation to affirm that after making all proper allowances for individual deficiencies, no finer body of public servants have ever been gathered to-

gether. They were trustworthy. They had character. They were inspired by high ideals. And they were "simpatico." By "simpatico" I mean not merely "sympathetic," but an American who understood the Filipinos and dealt kindly and squarely with them.

It is Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the United States, under whom the Philippines was administered, who is testifying:

No higher grade of public officials ever handled the affairs of any colony than the public officials who in succession governed the Philippines. With the possible exception of the Sudan and not even excepting Algiers, I know of no country ruled and administered by men of the white race where that rule and that administration have been exercised so emphatically with an eye single to the welfare of the natives themselves. The English and Dutch administrators of Malaysia have done admirable work; but the profit to the Europeans in those States has always been one of the chief elements considered; whereas in the Philippines our whole attention was concentrated upon the welfare of the Filipinos themselves, if anything to the neglect of our own interests. * * * The people of the Islands have never developed so rapidly, from every standpoint, as during the years of the American occupation.⁴

I once wrote that spontaneous, long continued, and ringing expressions of gratitude on the part of the Filipino people for the many benefits derived from American occupation of the Philippines need not be expected. I now believe that I was wrong. For true it is that Filipino leaders have given public expression to the gratitude of the Filipinos for their tremendous social and material advances under American guidance. True, also, that thoughtful Philippine citizens have a realization of the very great advantages which have accrued to them and their country from association with the United States. And the old adage that actions speak louder than words

⁴ *Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography* (1913), p. 517.

still holds true. Three minutes before the clock struck twelve for *sine die* adjournment at the 1934 session, the Philippine Legislature passed a gratuity bill for American employees which was fair and generous to all concerned.

The conscientious American civil servants are gone never to come again. White-thatched and bent with years of toil in the tropics, unable and unfit to make new connections in the homeland, they disappear beyond the Philippine horizon.

THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF THE PHILIPPINES TO THE UNITED STATES ⁵

A single Resident Commissioner to the United States under the Commonwealth of the Philippines is the representative of that Government in the United States. His salary and expenses are fixed and paid by the Philippine Government. This is in direct contrast to provisions in previous organic laws which authorized two Resident Commissioners, and allowed them the same salary and perquisites received by members of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States.

According to the Constitution of the Philippines, the Resident Commissioner is appointed by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines with the consent of the Commission on Appointments. This sole Resident Commissioner, like the two Resident Commissioners whom he succeeded, is entitled to official recognition by all departments of the United States Government. He is granted a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress with the right of debate but without the right of voting. In addition to the exercise of these formal powers, the Resident Commissioner is the spokesman of his people and Government and the guardian of their interests both personal and national.

⁵ Section read by Hon. Francisco Delgado, Resident Commissioner to the United States in 1934-1935.

The first Resident Commissioners, Pablo Ocampo and Benito Legarda, arrived in Washington in 1907. They were capable Filipinos, but due to existing conditions made rather colorless records. It was not until Manuel L. Quezon came as Resident Commissioner to serve as such from 1909 to 1916, and to put new life into the campaign for Philippine independence, that the American public became aware that there was a Resident Commissioner from the Philippine Islands. Not only was Resident Commissioner Quezon responsible in large part for the enactment of the Jones Law, but he possessed sufficient prestige to be able to suggest the appointment of Congressman Francis Burton Harrison to be Governor-General of the Philippine Islands. Followed other worthy representatives of the Filipino people, the last two being Pedro Guevara and Francisco A. Delgado. "Pédro," as he was affectionately called in Washington, has behind him longer service in the United States Congress than any other Philippine Commissioner—over twelve years. Also barring none, no more truly popular Filipino has ever resided in Washington.

To be Resident Commissioner to the United States has never been and will never be financially or socially unattractive to ambitious Filipino politicians. The former basic salary of 20,000 pesos (\$10,000) a year plus secretarial and mileage allowances—and the Commissioners received bigger mileage allowances than any Congressman—came to a comfortable total. Then there was the social side of Washington, particularly alluring to Resident Commissioners' wives, of which ladies like Mrs. Jaime de Veyra and Mrs. Camilo Osias made the most. Also, the chance for appearances before Congressional committees or on the platform to publicize the Philippines was not at all displeasing to the voluble and self-contained orators which most Resident Commissioners proved to be.

The first Resident Commissioner to represent the Com-

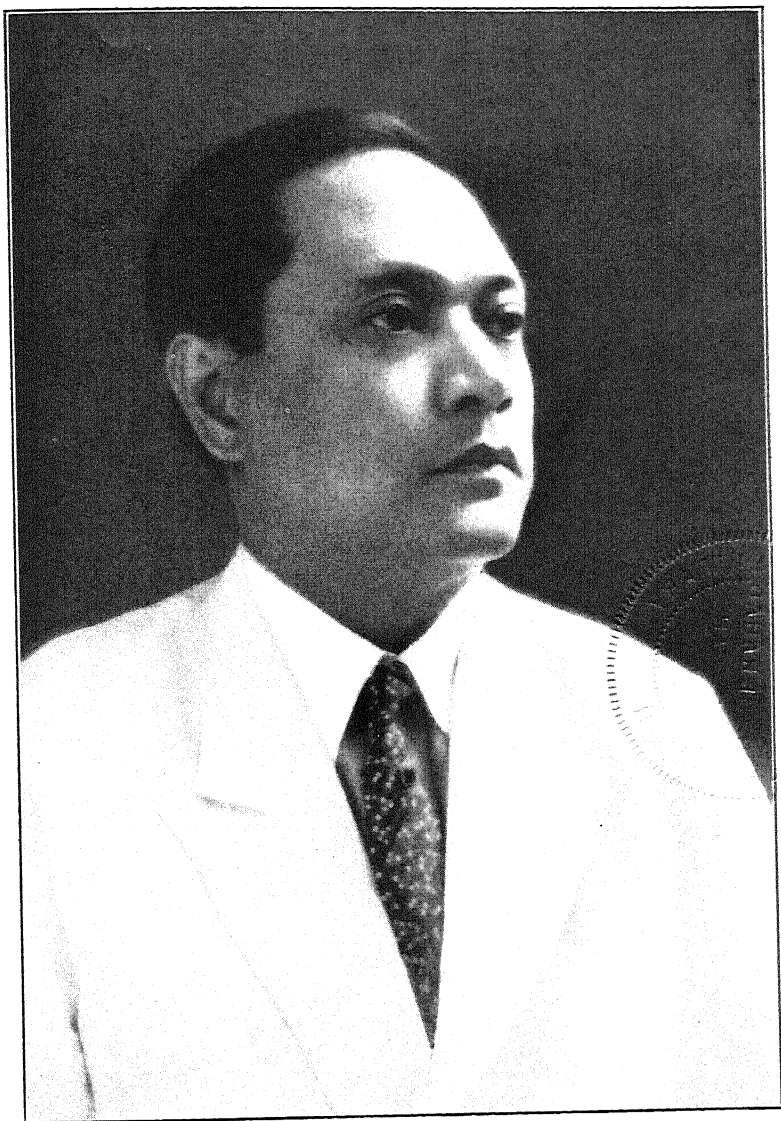
monwealth of the Philippines in the United States is Hon. Quintin Paredes, the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, and who before that had been Secretary of Justice. It was an excellent appointment for a position which under existing conditions has an enhanced status. Resident Commissioner Paredes' governmental experience, coupled with a vigorous personality, gives assurance that the interests of the Philippine Commonwealth will be intelligently handled in the United States.

"PINOYS" IN THE UNITED STATES ⁶

The Filipinos living in the United States are known as "Pinoys." According to the United States Census of 1930, there are 45,000 of them, 35,000 of whom are to be found in the Pacific Coast States, but this is believed to be a very conservative count. Another 55,000 Filipinos are to be found in Hawaii, with the majority laborers on sugar plantations. Not at all a bad numerical showing for the venturesome "Pinoys."

The number of "Pinoys" in the United States will not tend to increase because of the antagonism of American labor toward cheaper Filipino labor, which was reflected in the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law. For the period of the Commonwealth Government, Filipinos not citizens of the United States are considered as if they were aliens and the Philippines is considered a separate country entitled to an annual quota of fifty. The necessities of industries in the Territory of Hawaii were taken into account by permitting limited immigration of Filipinos from the Philippines to Hawaii. After independence comes, immigration from the Philippines to the United States will be on exactly the same basis as other foreign countries.

⁶ Section read by Hon. Francisco Delgado, Resident Commissioner to the United States in 1934-1935.



HONORABLE QUINTIN PAREDES
Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States.

In the halcyon years of American prosperity, many sons of Juan de la Cruz were contracted by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association and then passed over from Hawaii to the United States' mainland, or stowed away in a sea-going vessel outward bound from Manila. Employment could then be found without much difficulty. Especially was it easy to secure a job in the Alaskan canning factories. Also, wages were good. If some blonde siren ensnared the hard-earned coin of the Filipino laborer, what mattered it, for there was another job available and then more money to squander in riotous living. These Jasons drifted back to the old home town without the golden fleece to be sure, but wearing dark woolen suits with an air of assurance. Gradually the suit and the assurance melted away together and soon there was little to distinguish them from their less-travelled brothers.

Gone forever are the fat years. Repatriated Filipinos are arriving in Manila sent back as charity passengers. Many "Pinoy" are without any means of livelihood. Scores of Filipino families are destitute. It is a hand to mouth existence which they eke out, and they are forced to depend entirely on charity.

The impression may inadvertently have been given that all Filipinos in the United States are of a low class. That is not true. Hundreds of Filipino youths have studied or are studying in American schools and many of them are making great sacrifices to obtain educations. Other Filipinos are engaged in business with satisfactory returns. Also, a well-disciplined lot of young men are found in the United States Navy. But the very enumeration of the relatively prosperous few proves the drab and miserable existence of the rest. Yet remain in the United States the "Pinoy" will, the majority of them, for they are pretty well Americanized.

AMERICANS IN THE PHILIPPINES ⁷

Only seven thousand Americans, outside of the Army and Navy, reside in the Philippines, and of these one-half live in Manila. The reasons for such a small American community are, first, that the wavering independence policy of the United States for the Philippines was not conducive to security and to persuading Americans to make the Islands their permanent home, and second, that a tropical land was not suitable for pioneer land grubbing. The American preferred to rent a house when he might have built a home; to invest his capital cautiously when he might have plunged heavily; to exist in the Philippines when he might have lived in the Philippines.

Manila Americans have been the targets of criticism, partly justified but mostly malicious slander emanating from prejudiced, week-end sojourners. In my humble opinion, the major mistake committed by American business men consisted in their engaging in political propaganda against independence which merely had the effect of hastening independence. Also, it would appear to an unprejudiced observer that resident Americans have been unduly impatient with their Governors-General, even with representative men like Governor-General Leonard Wood, for their determination to coöperate with the Filipino leaders, when under the Organic Law that was the only way open to obtain results. The feeling was that the Governor-General should take out the big stick and mightily belabor Filipino heads with it. Finally, in the past racial misunderstandings were caused by articles appearing in certain sections of the local American press. Happily the sole remaining American daily does not adopt that attitude.

Most Americans have a genuine liking for the Filipinos and have known how to express that liking without either becoming mushy flatterers or hurting Filipino sensibilities. Never-

⁷ Section read by Mr. Howard M. Cavender, former President of the American Chamber of Commerce.

theless, without conscious effort or desire, American habits have run counter to Filipino habits. The American is a giant in stature where the Filipino is diminutive; blunt where the Filipino is evasive; boisterous where the Filipino is soft spoken, and possessed of an irresistible mania for curio-collecting which the Filipino fails to understand. Unavoidably the big-hearted, good-natured, and well-intentioned American was an enigma to the Filipino and the Filipino to the American.

Differences in language brought embarrassing moments to both nationalities. Occasionally the American insisted on speaking English to a native who knew not a word of English and then was dumbfounded and profane when no one comprehended him. Or the American with a word of Spanish or Tagalog mixed in a sentence of English, and thinking he was speaking Spanish, found hodge-podge language grating on educated Filipino ears. *Silla*, meaning "chair," but used to signify "left"; *mano*, meaning "hand," but used to signify "right"; *derecho*, which means "straight ahead"; *espera*, variously used for "wait" or "stop"; and the inevitable *sigue*, used to mean "go," "hurry," or any variation of emotions, were all right for the *cochero* (coachman) driving the *calesa*, but were hardly appropriate for the university graduate.

As I reread what I have written, I gain the impression that I have been overly critical of my compatriots. I would not have it so. No finer crowd of representative Americans were ever gathered together anywhere than have been forced by circumstances to form associations in the Philippines.

Consider the opening up of the country to trade. It is American capital which took the chance, leaving other capital to follow. The relatively few Americans residing in the Philippines have aided immeasurably in the development of their adopted land. The 600,000,000 pesos (\$300,000,000) of American capital invested in the Philippines compared to the billion plus of American dollars invested in Cuba is relatively

small, but potentially large in contrast to other capital in the Philippines. Perhaps twenty-five per cent of the American investments in the Islands is mobile and thus susceptible to easy withdrawal, but the remaining seventy-five per cent is fixed and thus tied up with the destinies of the country.

Consider public service. It is the Americans who have initiated and managed all sorts of charitable enterprises. Even when Filipino lady collectors have been designated to solicit funds for some charity, you will find them heading straight for the Americans rather than concentrating on the Filipinos. And these benefits, it should be understood, were almost entirely intended for distressed Filipinos.

Consider the soldier boys who came out with the expeditionary forces and who were discharged in the Philippines and stuck. They are invaluable assets in their communities. To them the Philippines is their country, their home. Now men in their fifties or sixties, they constitute the backbone of Philippine business.

Of Philippine public men, Governors-General, Commanding Generals of the Army, Rear Admirals of the Navy, and the like, we have heard. In civil life were to be found men as useful and as successful but more out of the range of public notice. I am unable to call the roll of Americans who made good in their adopted country. Pages would not suffice to tell their story. Possibly, however, I can take out a few leaves of history here and there. Met Clarke gave to the Philippines a rendezvous at Clarke's Restaurant on the Escolta in Manila, opened up the Benguet Consolidated Mine, but died nearly a pauper. Phil Whitaker from being a clerk rose to become the confidential financial adviser of the Archbishop of Manila and to build a tremendous vegetable oil enterprise, only to see the structure collapse when the market broke. A. A. Ammen pioneered the motor transportation business in the Bicol region, as did Walter S. Price in Leyte and E. M. Bachrach in central Luzon. Joe Heilbronn, who came over with the

First California Volunteers of the First Expedition, is a paper magnate and can draw his check for a million. C. M. Cotterman, after retiring from the Directorship of the Bureau of Posts, became a successful Manila business man. Sam Gaches, who was an internal revenue agent, is at the head of large business interests. "Bill" Shaw went up the ladder rung by rung of a big engineering company to ascend to its Presidency and to be the popular mentor of the Wack Wack Golf and Country Club. Horace B. Pond from being a stenographer in the customs service rose by merit to become the President of the biggest American corporation doing business in the Philippines. Add the names of Judges William A. Kincaid, A. S. Crossfield, and James Ross, and of General Thomas L. Hartigan and Colonel Robert E. Manley, five popular lawyers, and in business of Senator George H. Fairchild, Major W. H. Anderson, Captain H. L. Heath, Carlos Young, I. Beck, Julius Reese, E. E. Elser, and "Jake" Rosenthal, and still the list is far from complete. These men and others like them made passable fortunes. They also were good citizens who helped make the Islands a better place in which to live.

Medical testimony differs widely on the effect on Americans of life in the Philippines. In 1934, Congress was induced to approve a bill restricting service in the three military branches in the tropics to two years. Congress acted on the recommendation of Surgeon General Patterson of the Army, who brought out the fact that about five hundred men are being discharged from the Army each year because of mental derangements. The Surgeon General blamed the tropics, saying, "Residence in the tropic regions at or near the sea level is unfavorable to the health of Northern races. * * * In my opinion nobody—no white man—lives in the tropics over a long period who does not deteriorate in practically every way." Of civilians who work in the tropics, the Surgeon General, continuing, said, "They do not look vigorous to me."

On the other hand, Dean C. Worcester was scientifically trained and knew health conditions in the Philippines as no one else did. He cited Major P. M. Ashburn, Medical Corps, U.S.A., president of the Army board for the study of tropical diseases, to show that it is the monotony of a tropical lowland climate which makes an occasional change advisable. Mr. Worcester himself wrote, "Health conditions are now excellent, and the death-rate among whites at Manila is lower than that in many European and American cities. If one will only vary the monotony of the continuous warmth by making an occasional trip to Baguio, and take reasonable precautions as to food, drink, and exercise, there is no reason why one should not die of old age."⁸ Dr. Robert W. Hart, a trained surgeon and formerly Chief Quarantine Officer in the Philippines, writes, "Caucasian residents in the Philippines are more healthy and on the whole suffer less from disease than when residing in their home countries."⁹

Whom shall we believe? Americans with twenty, thirty, or thirty-five years behind them in the Philippines are hardly walking corpses. It would surprise these old residents to know that they suffer from *dementia praecox*. They concede that they have the disease called "Philippinitis," or forgetfulness, but would hardly like to be told that they are lunatics. Speaking as a layman, I am inclined to believe that if the white man will take plenty of exercise he can keep in good condition in the Philippines. His enemies are the twin evils of laziness and a propensity to set the pace that kills.

It is not wise for the Christian white
 To hustle the Aryan brown;
 For the Christian riles and the Aryan smiles
 And he weareth the Christian down.
 And the end of the fight is a tombstone white
 With the name of the late deceased;

⁸ Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Hayden edition of 1930, pp. 382, 383, 620.

⁹ Robert W. Hart, *The Philippines Today* (1928), p. 29.

And an epitaph drear: "A fool lies here,
Who tried to hustle the East."

KIPLING

The status of American citizens in the Philippines will remain the same under the Philippine Commonwealth as before it was established. All fear of American residents that they might lose their citizenship and with it the rights protected by that citizenship is quite unfounded. If one is an American citizen, he will remain an American citizen notwithstanding the Congressional piece of legislation, unless of course he voluntarily renounces his citizenship and adopts another. A mandatory provision of the Constitution of the Philippines, placed therein pursuant to the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law, requires that citizens and corporations of the United States shall enjoy in the Commonwealth all the civil rights of the citizens and corporations respectively thereof. The status of American citizens who may be inhabitants of the Philippines when the United States relinquishes sovereignty will be more uncertain.

Back in "God's Country" are returned Americans who served in the Philippines. They have their clubs in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. There they forgather from time to time to live over Philippine experiences. They are good men and women who gave full value during their service in the Philippines. In each is a longing to go back to the scenes of their yesterdays. Of course, they would not find the Islands the same as they picture them. But it is to their life in the Philippines that memory clings.

For the church-bells are a callin', and it's there that we would be—
By Manila's old Luneta, lookin' lazy at the sea.

(With apologies to Kipling.)

CHAPTER XXIV

INAUGURATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

HIS EXCELLENCY, MANUEL L. QUEZON, FIRST PRESIDENT
OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES ¹

THE Province of Tayabas occupies a long thin strip of land in the central part of the Island of Luzon. The most northerly town on the eastern coast of the province is Baler. Not only is the town remote and nearly inaccessible, but it is small. Since the heroic stand of the Spanish garrison during the Philippine Revolution, Baler's one claim to fame has been that it is the birthplace of Manuel Luis Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

Manuel L. Quezon (for the middle given name is omitted by him) was born on August 19, 1878. His father, who was a village teacher, early discerned the promise in the boy and made every possible sacrifice so that he could secure an education. With such assistance as his father could furnish and by working at menial tasks himself, Manuel was able to graduate from the San Juan de Letran College in Manila and was enrolled in the law course of the University of Santo Tomas when hostilities between the American and Filipino forces started. Thereupon young Quezon joined the Filipino Army and took part in the war. On being apprehended by the United States Army, Major Quezon (for that was his rank) was imprisoned for six months.

After being released from confinement, Quezon passed

¹ Section read by Hon. Maximo Rodriguez, Governor of Tayabas. See President Quezon's newspaper articles published in July, 1933, in answer to the charges of his critics, in the nature of an autobiography.

the bar examinations with high marks, and entered into the practice of his profession. He was a success at the bar, has always regretted that he could not have remained a lawyer, and has often tried unavailingly to return to the law. But it was not to be. The public service was calling.

Attorney Quezon was induced to leave private practice to become provincial *fiscal* (provincial prosecuting attorney) of Mindoro and later of Tayabas. Soon thereafter he was elected Governor of Tayabas and won local renown as a vigorous executive. One of his gubernatorial acts, clearly illegal, consisted in making the citizens of the province plant coconuts and thus underwrite their own prosperity. From the provincial governorship it was but a step to the first Philippine Assembly, wherein he became the floor leader and chairman of the appropriations committee. Then he was sent as Resident Commissioner to the United States, where he remained until after the enactment of the Jones Law. On the constitution of the Philippine Senate as the Upper House of the Philippine Legislature, he was elected Senator and President of the Senate. Since 1922 President Quezon has been the leader of the Filipino people. That position was made secure by election as the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth.

The foregoing is the bare biographical data connected with the life of President Manuel L. Quezon. Let me now endeavor to fill out the outline.

There have been three phases to the Quezon career. The first may be called preparatory. It was made up of sacrifices to secure an education, of rough experiences in the Army, and of a start in politics which carried him to the Islands' legislative body. But had Quezon stopped there he would have remained one of the crowd. He went forward to become the leader of the crowd. In one phase of this part of Quezon's life he took charge of the American end of the campaign for Philippine emancipation. In the other phase, he dominated Philippine politics.

It was as the Quezon of 1908, who as one of the delegates of the Philippine Assembly had in effect announced himself ready for leadership, that I became acquainted with him. Indeed I have the impression that I induced him to deliver his first speech in English, which he read in translation from the Spanish before the Junior Philippine Assembly, a debating society of the Philippine Normal School of which I was the adviser. The acquaintance thus begun continued throughout the years and ripened into real friendship. In his unconventional way, Quezon would call on me at my home or office at all hours of the day or night; or I would take breakfast with him and between sips of chocolate we would discuss some problem of state, or we would step out to see the town. Our close personal relations were strained by decisions written by me in the Borromeo Case, which aimed to insure judicial independence, and in the Board of Control Cases, which resolved a theory of government against the stand of Senate President Quezon. After that I had the feeling that an indelible scar effaced our friendship. More recently I have learned that Quezon harbored no grudge, which is like him, for he is quick to forgive and forget. I am glad that this is so, for whatever befalls Manuel L. Quezon, I will ever cherish an abiding affection for him.

For two and a half decades, Manuel L. Quezon was the accredited ambassador of his people to the United States. In the early part of that period, from 1909 to 1916, he was one of the two Resident Commissioners. In the latter part of that period he headed various Philippine missions which journeyed to Washington to ask independence from the President and the Congress of the United States. In the dual rôles of diplomat and advocate Quezon presented his case skilfully and convincingly. The marvel of it all was that he was able to master his own emotions and prejudices and intuitively to comprehend the purposes of those arrayed against him. Quezon was Spanish-trained; but he learned English quickly

and thoroughly. Quezon had had little acquaintance with Americans; but he soon grasped their psychology. Quezon was an *ex insurrecto* and a firebrand; but his utterances were characterized by a restraint and tone that carried conviction. Quezon had rejected the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act; but with amazing dexterity he extricated himself from an awkward position and convinced President Roosevelt and a doubting Congress that the same bill should be passed with Quezon-suggested changes.

In 1916 Quezon returned to the Philippines with the Jones Autonomy Act in his pocket. Eighteen years later he returned with the Tydings-McDuffie Commonwealth and Independence Law to his credit. These two simple statements constitute their own best testimonials of work well done.

While with one eye Quezon kept in touch with American developments, with the other eye he kept under observation events in his own country. In 1922 by a swift offensive, he overwhelmed his rival Osmeña. No sooner in power than he gave battle to Governor-General Wood and General Emilio Aguinaldo. In this campaign Quezon also outmaneuvered his *Democrata* opponents by enmeshing them in a National Supreme Council wherein he was supreme. No sooner peace than there came another battle with Osmeña, who had allied with him Speaker Manuel A. Roxas and the other politically influential members of the mission who were bringing back with them an independence law. Quezon defeated them at the polls.

The mere statement of Quezon's political accomplishments fails to do justice to them. In Osmeña he had to meet the old master, and Osmeña, endowed with true oriental guile and astuteness, was no mean antagonist. In Roxas he had to meet a Quezon-trained protégé of great ability, and the idol of Philippine youth. Quezon won out against the Osmeña-Roxas combination. Then there were the constantly recurring intrigues and jealousies of other politicians. Quezon beat them

all down. The Quezon political machine works smoothly and efficiently in all parts of the Islands. It is well organized and financed. If in the United States Quezon proved himself to be a diplomat and an advocate, in the Philippines he proved himself to be a skilful and resourceful politician.

One reason for Quezon's political success has been that as a public speaker he has no peer and is thus able to attract immense audiences. He is capable of speaking fluently either in English, Spanish, or Tagalog, as the exigencies of the situation demand. He is equally at home before critical listeners of the upper crust and a Tondo mass-meeting of the common people. His voice is not strong, in fact it is harsh and grating. It is his dynamic force, his earnestness, and his eloquence, coupled with an ability to coin daring phrases, that capture his listeners. When he pungently said, "Better a government run like hell by the Filipinos than one run like heaven by the Americans," it was a typical Quezonian remark intended to attract attention to his theme. In debate, whether on the rostrum or in private conference, Quezon is quick and adroit, as I have learned to my discomfiture; but when he finds that he is wrong he will frankly admit it. In my opinion, Quezon should be classed as the foremost public speaker of his race.

Enemies have not been lacking to call Quezon a slick and clever politician, neurotic and temperamental, vain and capricious, and an opportunist athirst for power. This, of course, can only mean that Quezon, with all his faults, is inescapably versatile and brilliant. He defends himself by saying that he has "never been dazzled by the glitter of power," and I for one believe him. On the other hand, he is a great showman and thrives on a place in the limelight. From early morning to late at night, his home is crowded by high and low, and picture as he may his humble nature, the truth is that he glories in his ability to exercise the almost royal gesture of life and death over his people. He is made that way.

About the private life of a man like Manuel L. Quezon, it was inevitable that defamatory talk circulate. Of course he is human, indeed his weaknesses constitute some of his most lovable qualities. But much of the stuff which was bruited about in whispers was gross slander, nothing less. He enjoyed a good time, liked to have near him entertaining people, was not above taking a drink, and was fond of dancing with pretty partners. But he was never a drunkard or a libertine, for he had too much self-respect. I know because I have been out with him. Also he liked to draw up his chair for a game of poker or bridge, and he plays a good hand, but it was a gentleman's game with gentlemen. He lived well, even luxuriously, but was not a multimillionaire as has been charged. If my surmise is correct, Mrs. Quezon is the capable manager of the family finances.

Quezon was and is a handsome man, nearer in age to sixty than fifty. Of middle height, his frame is lithe and erect. But it is his head that draws attention. The arched nose of the Spanish *conquistador* which quivers when he is excited, dark flashing eyes and abundant black hair now graying, set in the light-tinted skin of his Spanish forbears—his is a profile to admire. A personable gentleman of chivalrous bearing and faultlessly attired, he is at home in any company. Entering a room his attractive personality dominates the scene at once. No wonder a man like Manuel L. Quezon could hold the esteem of men and could be the admired of women.

Manuel L. Quezon as a bachelor was a constant trial to his friends. Especially were they afraid that he would contract marriage with an American and thus ruin his political career. So they heaved a sigh of relief when, unannounced, Quezon married his cousin Aurora Aragon in Hongkong. She has made him a good wife, one to raise his children, to be the head of his household, to comfort him in sickness, and to look tolerantly on his indiscretions. To the marriage four children have

been born, three girls, two living, Zenayda and Aurora, and one boy. The boy, Manuel, Jr. (called Nonong), is the apple of his father's eye.

Courage should be the emblem of the Quezon family. It took courage for the boy Manuel to leave provincial Baler to come to the big City of Manila. It took courage for the youth Manuel to give up schooling to join the insurgents in the field. It took courage for the young Commissioner Quezon to journey to the United States to face a strange people and speak to them in their own tongue. It took courage for the middle-aged Senator Quezon to fight Osmeña, Wood, Aguinaldo, and Roxas. It took courage for the aging Senate President Quezon to get to grips with tuberculosis and a kidney complaint, to curb a too active spirit, and to will himself back to health. It takes courage for President Manuel L. Quezon, with health none too secure and with but few years of life remaining, to assume the helm as the little Philippine State puts out into treacherous oriental seas.

The same spirit of courage has made Quezon inquisitive and adventurous. In religion particularly has this quality been displayed. He was brought up a Catholic, only to draw away from the Church to join the Masonic fraternity. He became the Grand Master of Masons in the Philippines, only to draw away from the lodge to return to the Church. There he now is a devout worshipper.

I have endeavored to point out Quezon's preëminence as the spokesman of Philippine nationalism, as the diplomatic ambassador of the Filipino people, as the Islands' most eloquent public speaker, and as a master politician. I have emphasized his courage, inquisitiveness, and sheer brilliance of intellect and the faults which make him humanly attractive. Without thought of apotheosis of the man, I believe that President Manuel L. Quezon has developed into that stature of statesmanship which makes him as truly typical of Filipin-

ism as Sun Yat Sen was of China or Kemal Pasha is of present-day Turkey.

THE COMMONWEALTH ELECTION

Three tickets were in the field. Senate President Manuel L. Quezon and Senator Sergio Osmeña carried the colors of the coalition of the major political parties for President and Vice President. General Emilio Aguinaldo and former Supreme Court Justice Raymundo Melliza emerged from retirement to organize the National Socialist Party and to become its candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. Bishop Gregorio Aglipay descended from the pulpit to the political arena as the standard bearer for President of the hastily formed Republican Party, and later persuaded Norberto Nabong, communistically inclined, to become a candidate for Vice President. From the start it was generally conceded that Quezon and Osmeña would win; the only question was as to their majority.

Before the election, Quezon was President of the majority party called the Nationalist Democratic, while Osmeña was President of the minority party called the *Nacionalista Pro Independencia*. Following preliminary negotiations, in separate conventions held on June 16, 1935, these political parties agreed formally to coalesce. They endorsed a joint ticket of Commonwealth candidates, with Senate President Quezon for President and Senator Osmeña for Vice President, and also a common platform. However, the candidates for the National Assembly were left to shift for themselves.

After hesitating for a time, General Emilio Aguinaldo heeded what to him was the call of the people for a change of leadership, and in a convention held at Cavite was nominated for the Presidency. Some difficulty was encountered in securing a suitable running mate, but eventually this honor

was accepted by Raymundo Melliza of Iloilo, who in the early days of American occupation had been a member of the Supreme Court. They ran on the ticket of the National Socialist Party which endorsed a long and variegated platform of reform.

Not to be outdone, Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, without much fuss, offered himself to the people for President of the Commonwealth. Behind him stood the Republican Party composed mainly of adherents of the Filipino Independent Church, of which the aged prelate was the head. At the eleventh hour Norberto Nabong, an obscure citizen of Manila, was selected to team with the bishop as a candidate for Vice President.

Stability and liberal idealism were the keynotes of the Quezon-Osmeña campaign. Their speeches of acceptance were acclaimed on all sides as outlining an attitude toward government and a program of administration which invited respect. Their campaign was front-porch conducted, without excursions into the provinces, and without indulging in personalities. The radio was largely used to reach the remote regions.

General Aguinaldo and Bishop Aglipay were naturally forced to adopt different tactics from those of their opponents. They could and did take the offensive. Separately, of course, they toured as much of the country as they could cover, making numerous campaign speeches and meeting the people. The burden of their song was a shorter transition period before independence, the righting of the alleged wrongs of the masses, and a critical lashing of existing leadership.

In the three-cornered political fight, the advantage was all with the Quezon-Osmeña coalition. Experienced and skilful politicians, behind them stood well-organized political parties and practically the whole force of the Government. Against them stood two venerable historical figures of the

past, one, a former insurgent leader, coupled with a retired judge; the other an octogenarian churchman teamed with an unknown citizen—all without political experience and without political organizations. The fight was over before it began.

On September 17, 1935, the Philippine electorate went to the poles to elect the first set of executive and legislative officials under the Commonwealth Government. The election completed the last of the series of steps directed by the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law to be taken preparatory to the establishment of the new government. The offices to be voted for were President, Vice President, and ninety-eight seats in the National Assembly.

The vote was light. Out of approximately 1,600,000 registered voters, slightly over a million actually voted. As anticipated, the coalition ticket won by a landslide. To be exact, for President, Quezon received 695,297 votes, as against 179,401 votes for Aguinaldo and 148,006 votes for Aglipay. For Vice President, Osmeña's victory was even more decisive, for 810,666 votes were cast for him, as against 70,891 votes for Melliza and 51,444 votes for Nabong. Aguinaldo carried his home Province of Cavite and the Province of Camarines Norte. Aglipay carried his home Province of Ilocos Norte and the Province of Nueva Vizcaya. The rest of the Philippine Archipelago went for Quezon. A majority of the delegates to the National Assembly, adhering to the Quezon wing of the coalition, were chosen.

The election was characterized by the sportsmanship of the coalition, which voluntarily permitted Aguinaldo an election inspector in each precinct. The only discordant note was struck by Candidate Aguinaldo who persistently declined to congratulate President-elect Quezon and who alleged that the victory of the coalition ticket was due to manipulation and coercion. As General Aguinaldo refused to tender his proof of the commission of widespread frauds to the regularly con-

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stituted authorities in the Philippines on the ground of prejudice, nothing came of his charges.

It was apparent that the country wanted Quezon and Osmeña as its leaders.

THE PRESIDENT TAKES OFFICE

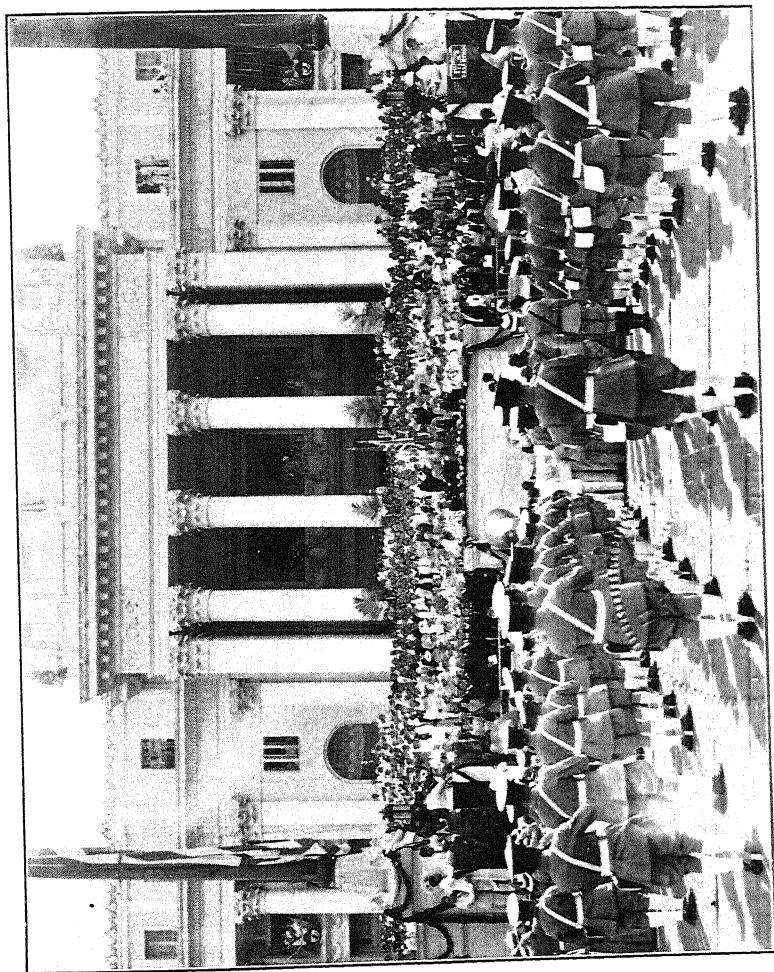
For one day at least Manila was not only the center of interest of the Philippines but of the United States and the Orient. After centuries of foreign domination, a democratic government resting on the consent of the people was to be established. Rightly it was a colorful and momentous event.

Never before had such a large group of American solons—some forty Senators and Congressmen in all with their families—set out on such a long trek. It was the greatest transpacific Congressional journey in history. Also, it constituted one of the most glorious junkets on record. Twenty thousand miles of travel and three months of superlative entertainment and sightseeing—all as guests of the Philippine Government.

Half a million pesos for ceremonial purposes and a display of unstinted hospitality for American officials and newspapermen was a large outlay. Its expenditure could not help but draw forth ironic and bitter comment in the United States and in the Philippines. In the homeland it was referred to as “graft” and as a “junket de luxe” and was bound to be an election issue in certain districts. In the Philippines, where there was a vital need both for economy and for amelioration of the distress of the masses, there was likewise complaint. On the other hand, in extenuation it could be said that the presence of these numerous guests testified to the good will of the Philippines toward the United States. If the net result of the visit is a substantial correction of misinformation about the Philippines and if there is a tolerant handling of Philippine questions, the large expenditure will be justified.

INAUGURATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

All stand at attention as the provincial band of the Philippine Constabulary plays the Philippine National Anthem, and as a nineteen-gun salute booms a few moments after President Manuel L. Quezon had taken the oath of office. In the inaugural stand are Vice President John N. Garner, United States High Commissioner Frank Murphy, Chief Justice Ramon Avanceña, Secretary of War George H. Dern (partly hidden behind a battery of microphones), President Manuel L. Quezon, and Speaker Joseph W. Byrnes. Black-robed Justices of the Philippine Supreme Court are at the left, and behind them are Congressional guests and members of the National Assembly. Members of the Philippine Cabinet are at the right, and behind them are other distinguished guests.



The induction into office of the first President of the Philippines, His Excellency Manuel L. Quezon, and along with him of the first Vice President of the Philippines, Hon. Sergio Osmeña, and the first members of the National Assembly took place in Manila on November 15, 1935. The ceremonies were held in a specially erected stand in front of the magnificent legislative building, and facing the old Walled City. Among the distinguished visitors seated in the center of the stand were Secretary of War George H. Dern, the special envoy of the President of the United States and the fourth Secretary of War to visit the Islands, Vice President John N. Garner, Speaker Joseph W. Byrns, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, the remaining members of the Congressional party, General Douglas MacArthur, Major General Frank McIntyre, Brigadier General Creed F. Cox, former Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, and William Allen White, Roy Howard, Mark Foote, and other newspaper publishers and correspondents. Delegations from the provinces, and a multitude of other persons were present. Official delegates from foreign countries were not in attendance due to the disinclination of the State Department at Washington to extend invitations. General Emilio Aguinaldo and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, defeated candidates for the Presidency, were conspicuously absent.

The largest mass assembly ever to gather in Manila at any one time, estimated by the police at a quarter of a million people, crowded the area around the ceremonial stand to view the inauguration and the parade. Millions of other Filipinos throughout the Islands enthusiastically celebrated the day. Radio broadcasts carried the proceedings to the United States and the neighboring Asiatic countries.

The program, which had been carefully planned, was carried out without a hitch. When the high dignitaries had entered and taken their seats, His Grace, the Most Reverend

Gabriel Reyes, D.D., Archbishop of Cebu, read the invocation. Secretary of War Dern, as the personal and official representative of the President of the United States, delivered an inspiring address in which he praised the progress of democracy in the Islands, laid emphasis on the fact that all the agencies of local government were passing to Filipino control, and pointed out the interdependency of the sovereign power and the autonomous Philippine Commonwealth. This was followed by the reading by Governor-General Murphy of the proclamation of the President of the United States announcing the result of the election of the officers of the Commonwealth. The oaths of office were then administered to President-elect Quezon, Vice President-elect Osmeña and the members-elect of the National Assembly by Hon. Ramon Avanceña, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Thereupon President Quezon delivered his inaugural address. A lengthy parade which was reviewed by the President closed the program.

As a grand finale to the ceremonies, President Quezon was escorted to Malacañan Palace. In significance this event equalled the more elaborate inaugural display. The occupancy of Malacañan had theretofore been the symbol of alien domination. Henceforth that idea was dissipated. As President Quezon entered the historic building, he became the first Filipino to do so by mandate of his fellow countrymen.

The existing government of the Philippines was terminated. Direct American administration of the Islands was ended. A new government representative of the Filipino people had begun, and was ready to enter upon its rights, powers, and privileges as provided under the Constitution of the Philippines. Direct Filipino administration of the Islands was a reality.

Even such a solemn affair as the start of a new régime had its intriguing sidelights. As President Quezon concluded tak-

ing his oath of office, a nineteen-gun salute—not a twenty-one-gun salute—boomed forth for him. But the day following the induction into office of the President of the Commonwealth Government, the United States High Commissioner to that Government called first on the President of the Philippines. Notwithstanding this courteous act, Washington was understood to have informed Manila that American sovereignty as represented by the United States High Commissioner still outranked Filipino self-government as represented by the President of the Philippines. Thus were ticklish questions of precedence settled.

The Commonwealth Government was the recipient of congratulatory messages from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the foreign ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Japan, the last five coursed through the State Department. His Holiness Pope Pius XI bestowed his apostolic benediction on the Commonwealth.

The weather on Commonwealth Day was clear, cool, and delightful. A typhoon which had threatened to mar the program obligingly postponed arrival. A couple of days later a comparatively mild one did descend on the Islands, but no great damage was done.

The superstitiously inclined might consider the weather an omen of the future of the Philippines. A bright beginning followed by devastating troubles. But eventual survival.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

The highlight of the day which marked the start of the Commonwealth Government was the inaugural address delivered by President Manuel L. Quezon. It was not a long message. In fact it was constructed so as to take up exactly twenty minutes of time. Notwithstanding this self-imposed limitation, it was a well-phrased, well-balanced, and well-

conceived address. Also, it was well delivered by the President, who spoke firmly and forcefully, emphasizing the salient points with vigorous gestures.

With little prelude, except to make acknowledgment of gratitude to America and to pay tribute to the Filipino heroes, the President plunged into the exposition of his thought. First of all, the President stated that no violent changes from the established order of things were contemplated. Nevertheless, warning was given that the Government would deal firmly with lawless individuals and subversive movements. The point was made "that no man in this country from the Chief Executive to the last citizen is above the law." Protection of labor was promised. A balanced budget was to be insisted upon, but no new taxes were contemplated. Economic plans were to be fostered, and the hope was expressed "that the forthcoming trade conferences between the representatives of the United States and of the Philippines would result in more just and beneficial relations between the two countries." The establishment of an economical, simple, and efficient government together with other matters of equal importance was pledged. Good will toward all nations was to be the golden rule of the administration. An appeal was made to the patriotism of all to unite in the common endeavor so that "we may . . . once more dedicate ourselves to the realization of our national destiny." The President concluded: "I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding Hand. May He give me light, strength, and courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people."

All who heard or read the inaugural address of President Quezon pronounced it a great state document worthy of the occasion.

The inaugural address was supplemented a few days later by a Presidential message to the National Assembly, which

dwelt on the theme of national preparedness for defense. This message, like the inaugural address, showed careful study and thought. It could be taken as a clear indication that the Filipino people intended to follow the rough path to independence without wavering and desired to make that independence secure against internal and external dangers.

THE COMMONWEALTH BEGINS TO FUNCTION

The two men most responsible for the auspicious inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines were Governor-General Frank Murphy and President Manuel L. Quezon. As far as human sagacity could anticipate, jointly and separately, they made ready for the momentous event.

Governor-General Murphy made it his purpose to close the books of one régime with all pending matters decided, and to open them for another régime with clean pages. Nor was this the work of the moment. On the contrary, it represented a hard two and a half year job.

In the Philippines the Chief Executive had two main objectives. He had to insist on the maintenance of financial stability and he had to contribute to social betterment to thwart widespread unrest. Neither was a simple matter. He could not content himself with saying, there shall be centralized financial control, there shall be a balanced budget, there shall be a treasury with money available to turn over to my successor. He had to keep continuously after officials to have governmental expenditures remain within income and he had to do the disagreeable thing of vetoing money bills passed by the legislative body. But he did his duty without flinching, with the result that government finances were in a sound condition. In his effort to contribute to human happiness and the contentment of the people, he was able to accomplish his purpose but partially, for it was a problem not soluble in a day or a year.

In the United States Governor-General Murphy retained contacts with an American President and Congress. His pleasant relations with President Roosevelt and the consideration shown him by the latter were extremely helpful to the Philippines. Congress had little that it could do for the Islands at the moment, but most of what it could do was done.

A variety of reasons accounted for the Governor-General's success as an administrator. One was his consistently maintained neutrality on local political issues. Another reason was his own persistent addiction to hard work, which meant a thorough study of all questions, big and little. Still another reason was his ability to get along with associated advisers and officials. His broad humanitarianism was an inspiration to all with whom he came in contact. Americans could point with pride to the high standards set by their last Governor-General, and Filipinos could feel a quickening therefrom of their ideals for the conduct of their own Government.

Governor-General Murphy's last message to the Philippine Legislature was delivered the day before the Commonwealth Government got under way. It was a comprehensive document and displayed deep research and clear thinking. A brilliant factual review of American achievements and Philippine progress through American and Filipino coöperation was made, with emphasis being laid on the labors of the Murphy administration. The state of the country was reported sound and its administration ready for the new régime. A fit valedictory delivered by the Governor-General for the American administration had been pronounced.

On the afternoon of the same day, in Malacañan Palace, I had the honor of administering the oath of office to Hon. Frank Murphy as the first United States High Commissioner to the Philippines. With that act the office of Governor-General, the bicameral Philippine Legislature, the Jones Law, and the American-guided and -administered Government of the Philippine Islands passed into history.

President Manuel L. Quezon at the start of the Commonwealth Government had to remove obstacles to plans laid down for a fruitful administration. He had first of all to make his leadership secure and undisputed. To do this he had to be able to count on legislative as well as executive support. Against strong opposition, including that of the retiring Speaker of the House of Representatives, he was able to impose his will on a rather reluctant Legislature. As a result the Speaker of the National Assembly was divested of the traditional powers he had legally and extra-legally exercised, to become principally a presiding officer, and the President of the Commonwealth was permitted to deal directly with legislative committees. The Speaker chosen to fit into the new scheme of government was Hon. Gil Montilla, a sugar magnate from Occidental Negros who had behind him an excellent record as Provincial Governor and Senator.

President Quezon will thus have a free hand in shaping the policies of the Government and in developing an organization to carry them out. Before this he had revealed his purpose to be "more government and less politics," an announcement which was greeted with wide public approbation. A coalition government of the best men available for important posts was assured.

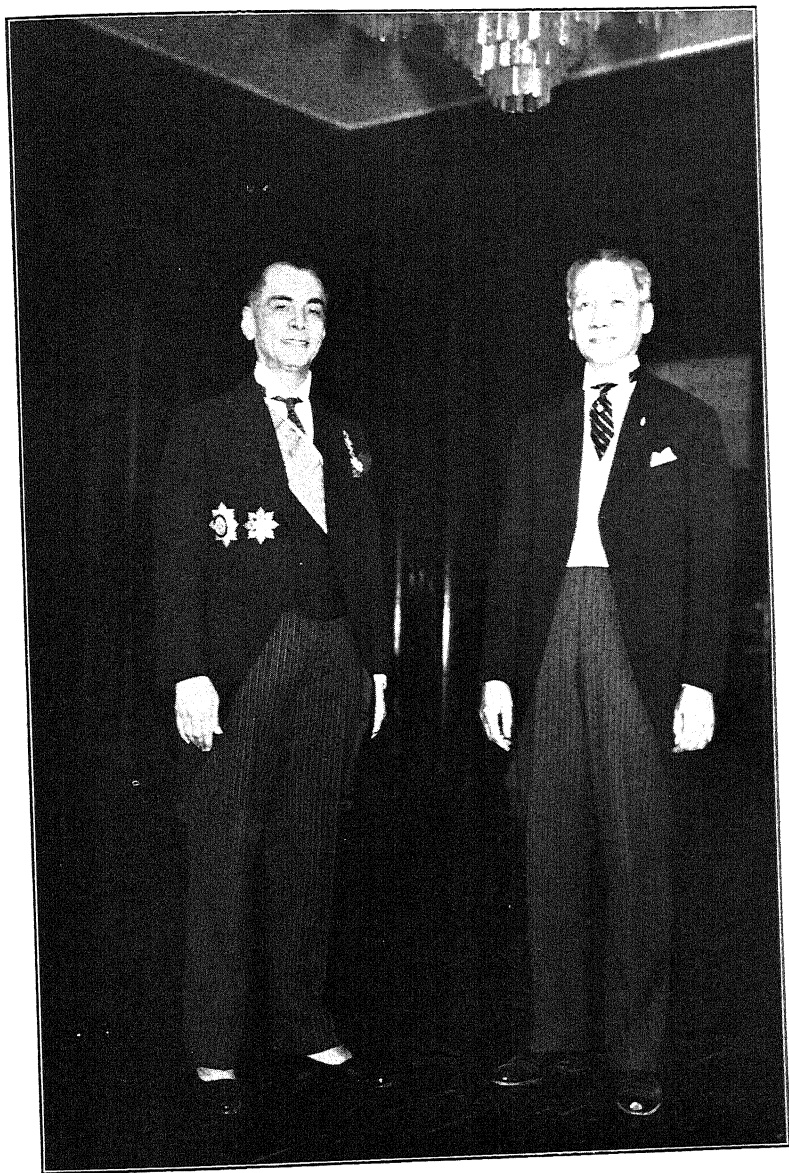
After the inauguration, the governmental machinery continued to turn with only imperative changes being made in personnel. For the time being the President's Cabinet remained as constituted under the Governor-General, with the exception that the portfolio of Public Instruction was taken over by Vice President Osmeña. Substitutions for those in the Cabinet will come gradually, as will governmental reorganization to meet the new conditions existing under the Commonwealth. As Auditor General, Jaime Hernandez, former Deputy Insular Auditor, was named. Under Secretary Jorge B. Vargas was designated for the key position of Secretary to the President. Hon. Ramon Avanceña received an *ad interim*

appointment of Chief Justice of the Commonwealth Supreme Court and the five Filipino Associate Justices were reappointed. To relieve this Court of a part of its load, an intermediate court of appeals was planned. General Douglas MacArthur was appointed military adviser to the Commonwealth and has undertaken the organization of an adequate defense force. Also created by executive order was a Council of National Defense. Former Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison returned to the service as technical adviser to the President.

In another direction the President of the Philippines will naturally be expected to make his position as head of the Government free from outside interference. The Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law is none too explicit in the portion dealing with the office of United States High Commissioner to the Philippines. Possibilities of friction between the High Commissioner and the President will accordingly be present throughout the ten-year transition period. Regrettably this is true. Anyone knowing the character of the first President of the Philippines will understand that he will not be likely to yield prerogatives which to him seem essential for the fulfilment of self-government.

The basic problems which present themselves to the Commonwealth Government for solution are varied and complicated. Among the most important are the trade conferences between American and Filipino representatives calculated to facilitate economic adjustment.

The President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines has ideals. He wants to give his country a good Government. But it is one thing to enunciate a program and another to carry it out. The consummation of the President's program will come to the extent to which the people in the Philippine and the leaders in the United States lend their sympathetic support.



PRESIDENT MANUEL L. QUEZON AND VICE PRESIDENT SERGIO
OSMEÑA

As they appeared in Malacañan Palace immediately after the inauguration.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PHILIPPINES OF THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE ¹

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES IN THE YEAR 1936

THE Constitution of the Philippines has survived the varied processes of its development. The President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines has been elected, has assumed his exalted office, and the last cheers have died away. The Commonwealth stands a lone country, oriental in setting but occidental in religion, in culture, and in prejudices.

The final chapter in the joint adventure of American-Filipino efforts is being written. It is a time for inventory-taking, for statesmanlike planning, and for soul-searching.

Several factors in the present situation are reassuring.

The reins of government have not fallen into untried hands. The President of the Commonwealth and his advisers are experienced in political statecraft. Recently they have shown a fuller understanding of the complexities of finance and economics. The approach to their tasks of the officials

¹ This chapter was read by Mr. Horace B. Pond, President of the Pacific Commercial Company, a well-informed Manilan. It is but fair to state that Mr. Pond does not agree with some of the views here expressed and has endeavored to persuade me to change them, but they represent my honest convictions and so I will let them stand. For a well-considered analysis of the future of Philippine commerce, see the address of Mr. Pond before the Manila Rotary on May 10, 1934. Possibly as fair a sketch as any of world conditions from personal observation is to be found in Frazier Hunt, *This Bewildered World* (1934). I ran into Mr. Hunt in Harbin, upper Manchuria, when he was gathering the material for this book, and when, by the way, he mistook me for the American Consul.

chosen by their people is one of sobriety and earnestness, marked by a commendable disposition to take a realistic view of the problems that confront them. Radical and fundamental changes in governmental organization and practices and strange political methods are not seriously contemplated.

The political capacity of the Filipino people to set up and maintain an autonomous government protected by the United States has been amply tested and satisfactorily proven. From the lowest messenger to the highest official in the Government are men of ripe experience and sufficient ability. The loss of the compelling energy and initiative of the American officials will be felt, but not to the extent of disorganizing the regular processes of administration.

The future of the export trade of the Philippines constitutes the real problem in connection with assuring stability to the Commonwealth and preparations for independence. Nevertheless, the commercial outlook is far from hopeless. During the first five years of modified free trade, the full impact of curtailed Philippine-American trade relations will not be felt. The sugar limitation of 850,000 long tons is fair enough, considering that as late as 1932 the maximum quantity of Philippine sugar did not reach that figure. Admittedly the remaining five years of the Commonwealth's existence do not present as bright a perspective. For this period the economic situation is discouraging unless some remedy be found. The coconut oil and tobacco industries could not survive the first year of the export levies and sugar could not survive the second year. Optimism revives with the announcement of President Roosevelt that at the earliest practicable date after inauguration of the Commonwealth, he intends calling a joint trade conference to promote mutual trade advantages.

There is no reason why the internal government of the Commonwealth should not run smoothly during the brief period of its existence. Public finances are stable, the national debt and the currency system are amply safeguarded, and all

parts of the financial machinery are capably supervised. In addition, the United States High Commissioner is enjoined to see to it that the finances of the Philippines remain in this satisfactory condition. Public order should be maintained without particular difficulty by the Philippine Constabulary with the United States Army and Navy available for emergencies. It will be during the last half of the transition period that trouble may come because of the liquidation of many industries and the flight of capital from the country.

For quite similar reasons, external relations are secure. The only cloud in the offing is a possible Japanese-American war into which the Philippines would inevitably be drawn and as inevitably crushed. But that would be a fool's war with no nation the gainer. As long as reason holds sway, a Japanese-American conflict is unthinkable.

I repeat that the present and the immediate future of the Commonwealth of the Philippines should cause worry, but not irrational hysteria. It is the future after the going out of the Commonwealth and the coming in of the Republic which raises grave apprehension. Ten years in which the people can gain an understanding of the responsibilities of Philippine independence. Ten years in which either to maneuver for approachment to America, to enter into an alliance with Japan, to encourage the perpetual neutralization of the Islands, or to decide to go it alone. Ten years in which to consummate a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States, to develop new markets, and to build up and protect the infant industries of the Philippines. An eventful ten years. A responsible ten years. A prayerful ten years.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES—A GLIMPSE INTO THE MAGIC BALL

A graduating class usually chooses a class prophet. The victim thus provided proceeds in a more or less original line

of thought to draw back the curtain of the future and to foretell the careers of his class-mates. Years later the class holds a reunion and the prophecy is brought forth out of its dust for hilarious rereading. The brilliant boy graduate to become president is behind prison bars; the stylish girl graduate to be the wife of a Wall Street magnate is a farmer's widow, and the poor dumb-bell consigned to a village merchant's life is the most famous Congressman. It is dangerous, extremely dangerous, to essay the rôle of a Joshua. Your predictions are likely to come home to plague you with their ridiculousness.

Now I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet. I am just an ordinary mortal with, I hope, the usual amount of brain matter, but in addition possessed of more than ordinary experience in Philippine and Far Eastern affairs. I would draw from that experience to make certain deductions of possible future happenings of the Philippine Republic.

If all goes well, on the fourth of July following the expiration of a ten-year period counted from the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, the United States will withdraw American sovereignty from the Philippines and the independence of the Philippines will be proclaimed and recognized. In other words, on July 4, 1946, the citizens of the Philippine Republic will join with the citizens of the American Republic in celebrating their Independence Day. How will the Filipinos and their Republic fare when independence comes? Can the Filipinos maintain independence? These are fair questions.

M. Mallat in his *Geographical History of the Philippines* of 1846 sanguinely anticipated that in process of time the Philippines would become the dominant political power of the Eastern world, subjecting to its paramount influence the Netherlands Archipelago, the Pacific, Australia, and even China and Japan. Nearly a century later there exist a few optimists who similarly presume to believe that the Philip-

pires is headed for Utopia. Their reasoning is grounded on the proposition that uncertainty and fear, the bugbears of business, will be banned. For the first time in the Islands' history, so runs the argument, their political future is clearly defined.

But is uncertainty banned? The President of the United States has impliedly promised to rid the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law of its alleged inequalities. Modifications of Philippine-American trade relations are being sought. A quicker grant of independence or a change in the conditions of the grant are possibilities. Perpetual neutralization of the Philippines is simply an unrealized section of a law. American and neighboring peoples' intentions relative to an independent Philippines remain to be formulated. Is the political future clearly defined? A Philippine Commonwealth and then a Philippine Republic. But following that, how the Filipinos will fit into the oriental scheme of things is undetermined. I would say that this is no time for the encouragement of flagging spirits by fine words, but that it is more a time for statesmanlike reasoning and the facing of the facts, however unpleasant. Concern about the future of the Philippines is unavoidable, especially by those with substantial interests at stake.

A great majority of the enlightened people of the Islands are able to see before them the dark shadows of political and economic change. To use an expression which will be well understood in the Philippines, typhoon signal number one, denoting a distant typhoon moving toward the Islands, has been raised. It may hit the Philippines head on, and again it may avoid the Philippines entirely. But while the signal remains aloft all is gloom. Fear, real or unreal, grips the people—fear of change, fear of the unknown.

Senator William E. Borah, on the floor of the United States Senate, in announcing his vote in favor of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Independence Act, uttered these words: "I know,

Mr. President, that whenever independence is granted there will be a risk. I am aware that the Filipino people may stumble and fall. But knowing full well that whenever independence is given these same things may—I should almost say must—happen, I am not willing longer to deny them a chance to work out their own salvation.” That, it seems to me, is a fair statement of the American viewpoint. “A risk” is to be taken by the Filipino people. Permit them to take it and try their luck. It is up to the Filipinos to sink or swim.

The risks of the Philippine Republic as I see them are two, the first internal, that is, within the Republic, and the second external, that is, outside of the Republic. The internal danger will come from the unrest of the masses caused by diminishing purchasing power and incited by unscrupulous agitators. It will take the form of seditious and communistic insurrection or near insurrection. This, then, is more or less an economic problem, and will be solved according to the degree to which economic forces can be mastered to assure fair prosperity. The external danger will come from the menace of Chinese penetration and Japanese aggression. The postulate of both risks is America’s unformed intentions following the recognition of Philippine independence.

Let us take a closer look at these two major problems of the Philippine Republic.

The current of unrest and dissatisfaction flowing over the world carrying with it demands for a new set-up for the common man has not passed by the Philippines. Manifestations of it are seen there every day. *Sakdalista* socialistic victories in the elections and thereafter a *Sakdalista* uprising. The mutterings of the peasant farmers. A cigar-makers’ strike fomented by the Communists in which blood was shed. The spread of Communism sufficiently well financed and energetically led. More serious trouble can be expected from these directions than from the Moros when they are left to the tender minis-

trations of their Filipino brothers. As yet the university students and others of the educated class are not tinged with pink or red doctrines. But discontent exists and will continue to exist and spread as the economic consequences of separation from the United States are more and more felt. Of the correctness of that conclusion there can be no doubt.

The ultimate success of Philippine independence will depend in great measure upon the ability of the Filipinos to evolve an economic existence in the new state of affairs in which they will find themselves. If the Philippines can be placed on a sound financial basis, the excuse for foreign interference in the affairs of the Philippine Republic will be reduced. But will the Philippines be able to survive economically? With the closing of the American free market exportations, on the basis of 1934 values, will drop about seventy per cent. Incomes, individual and governmental, will likewise decrease. American senatorial opinion is to the effect that an independent Philippine Government cannot obtain the revenue to maintain itself without continued access to the American market for a very considerable volume of Philippine products. Little hope for the Philippine sugar industry can be held out once Philippine sugar is placed outside of the American tariff wall. If sugar cannot be sold in the United States it cannot be sold elsewhere. That is so because Philippine sugar cannot compete on equal terms with Javanese and other sugar. New markets will be hard to find, and the development of home industries will only partially solve the problem. Not pleasant reading. Facts seldom are.

Still I do not feel that the economic future of the Philippines is altogether hopeless. There is usually an avenue of escape from any predicament. In the first place it is doubtful if actual want to any considerable extent will ever exist in the Philippines. The family system is well entrenched, and the caring for needy relatives is assumed as a matter of course.

Then in the tropics wants are few and readily satisfied. Aside from these locally self-evident truths, there are larger aspects to be considered.

The Philippines produces certain things, like hemp, copra, and tobacco, which should be needed in the United States or elsewhere for a long time to come. Likewise no one can take away the Islands' lumber and gold without paying for them. A reciprocally fair trade agreement with the United States which will permit the Philippines to keep a part of the American market is feasible, for the reason that it would be mutually advantageous. Japan is a potential market, and Japan, it is claimed by her representatives, needs more of the raw materials which the Philippines grows or can grow, for instance, cotton, besides hemp, copra, and lumber. For these reasons it would be desirable to expand the production of cotton, coffee, and rubber for home consumption and for export. To consolidate these facts, they mean that the economic future of the Islands requires careful and measured planning.

The Philippine problem has had international aspects. Placed as the Philippine Islands are near the center of the stage of the Far Eastern drama, it is likely that the Philippine problem will always have international aspects. At this point let us consider a few of its varied phases.

And first, as to America's attitude toward the Philippine Republic. The United States can get out of the Philippines completely and absolutely, and I would add gracefully, with no guaranty or commitment of any sort. Or the United States can stay in partially, maintaining a naval base and becoming a signatory to a treaty guaranteeing the independence of the Philippines. American opinion is yet unformed. America has ten years within which to decide whether or not she cares to withdraw fully from the Western Pacific. Without waiting that long, if at this moment my views were asked, I would advise my country to get out and stay out of the zones of danger. It has already been determined to withdraw the Ameri-

an Army when independence is proclaimed. The retention of a naval base in the Philippines would be taken as underwriting Philippine freedom. That the United States should not do, for she would not be in a position to make good on the promise. Above all, the United States should avoid the envidious position of responsibility without authority. For once placing American interests first, make such trade agreement with the Philippine Republic as is mutually profitable; draw back the first line of defense to Hawaii and Alaska, and avoid becoming a party to any arrangement which would involve the United States in dangerous political alliances with foreign powers.

The only possible modification of this policy of America for the Americans can come by joining in a treaty for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippines. The excuse for this would be moral—the dislike of a tutor to see the child which has been carefully raised and educated devoured by the bad wolf. Also, America's responsibility under such a treaty would be joint, and possibly not particularly fraught with peril. But beyond that the United States should not go, and I am not altogether convinced that she should go that far.

As was to be expected, the decision of the United States to grant independence to the Philippines had repercussions in the Far East. The Netherlands could hardly view an independent Philippines with equanimity, because of the Islands' proximity to her own Indies and her oil reserves, and because of the incentive to native agitation among Dutch subjects. The British Empire was similarly concerned because of the Philippine position close to Hongkong, Borneo, Malaya, India, and Australia; indeed the building of the Singapore naval base goes on apace—and secretly. China looks with suspicion on Japan's intentions toward the Philippines, and Japan is sensitive to any trespassing on her rights in the Far East. The maintenance of the balance of power is as essential in the Western Pacific as in Eastern Europe. Betwixt national jeal-

ousies and ambitions is found the Philippines, and in the face of bitter economic competition and world unrest no weak nation like the Philippine Republic could feel secure.

Remain the specters of China and Japan. I reiterate the Yellow Peril is real. The fate of the Filipino people is inextricably involved with that of other oriental peoples.

The Philippines lies within the shadow of the largest nation on earth and also the most impoverished and the most congested. The Chinese are now excluded, while other nationalities, even the Japanese, enter the Philippines freely. How long can that continue after Philippine independence? If the barrier comes down, the Chinese will overrun the Islands. If the Filipinos attempt to keep the barrier up, peaceful infiltration of the Chinese will continue just the same.

And Japan. The Senatorial Mission which visited the Philippines during the latter part of 1934 dolefully predicted that Japan is going to step in when the United States steps out. Possibly. Personally I do not look for Japan to jump on the Philippines the moment the Islands are freed from American control. She may entertain no territorial designs on the Philippines when they are cast adrift under their own power. She will probably benefit from her sad experience elsewhere, which teaches her that ultimate control of neighboring lands is preferable to annexation and absorption. Nevertheless, the pressure of Japanese population and the cry for land cannot long be resisted. The Japanese have already chipped out an extremely valuable province of Mindanao for themselves while the Stars and Stripes continues to float over the Philippines. When the American flag comes down, is it reasonable to suppose that the Japanese would submit to annoying restrictions? And bordering their miniature Manchuria in Mindanao are other lands, the richest in the archipelago, which no one can help but covet.

Shortly after the campaign to continue free trade with the United States was gotten under way, Hon. Atsushi Kimura,

Japanese Consul General at Manila, felt the urge to unbosom himself of his views on the matter. The procedure was most unusual, but Mr. Kimura's remarks were never disauthorized in Tokyo. They may thus be interpreted as reflecting a sector of Japanese opinion. With his forum the University of the Philippines and his audience university students and professors, Consul Kimura said, "In all probability, the American trade with the Philippines will gradually shrink as the time for independence approaches, and Japan-Philippine trade will correspondingly increase." He declared that "under such circumstances it can be foreseen that Japan will be one of the most potential markets for Philippine products." "The Philippines," he said, "has the raw materials that Japan needs, while Japan could easily supply the greater bulk of the needed industrial goods at prices very much lower than those obtainable in other countries." He advised the implantation of a currency system independent from the dollar. He mentioned the neutralization of the Philippines and stated that "the Japanese are and will be your good friends, ready to offer their helping hand whenever you are in need of it," and that, therefore, it was most desirable that "in dealing with a matter which may affect future relations with foreign countries, especially with the oriental countries, you take the utmost care to prevent any possible misunderstanding."

Already Japanese pan-Asiatism is giving concern to the Filipinos. Some of them who believe in preparedness profess to see the writing on the wall and are assiduously studying the Japanese language. A Manila publisher reports good sales of Japanese-English dictionaries. A few Filipinos, including a university professor, following the example of the revolutionary society which before the outbreak against Spain sent a deputation to Japan to present a petition to the Mikado praying him to annex the Philippines, have come out boldly to advocate a Japanese-Philippine alliance. Others who think more clearly see the portent of the signs which are the cause

APPENDIX I

THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH AND INDEPENDENCE LAW

(Popularly known as the Tydings-McDuffie Law)

[PUBLIC—No. 127—73D CONGRESS]

[H.R. 8573]

AN ACT

To provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

CONVENTION TO FRAME CONSTITUTION FOR PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SECTION 1. The Philippine Legislature is hereby authorized to provide for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, which shall meet in the hall of the house of representatives in the capital of the Philippine Islands, at such time as the Philippine Legislature may fix, but not later than October 1, 1934, to formulate and draft a constitution for the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, subject to the conditions and qualifications prescribed in this Act, which shall exercise jurisdiction over all the territory ceded to the United States by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on the 10th day of December 1898, the boundaries of which are set forth in article III of said treaty, together with those islands embraced in the treaty between Spain and the United States concluded at Washington on the 7th day of November 1900. The Philippine Legislature shall provide for the necessary expenses of such convention.

CHARACTER OF CONSTITUTION—MANDATORY PROVISIONS

SEC. 2. (a) The constitution formulated and drafted shall be republican in form, shall contain a bill of rights, and shall, either as a

part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, contain provisions to the effect that, pending the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands—

(1) All citizens of the Philippine Islands shall owe allegiance to the United States.

(2) Every officer of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall, before entering upon the discharge of his duties, take and subscribe an oath of office, declaring, among other things, that he recognizes and accepts the supreme authority of and will maintain true faith and allegiance to the United States.

(3) Absolute toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured and no inhabitant or religious organization shall be molested in person or property on account of religious belief or mode of worship.

(4) Property owned by the United States, cemeteries, churches, and parsonages or convents appurtenant thereto, and all lands, buildings, and improvements used exclusively for religious, charitable, or educational purposes shall be exempt from taxation.

(5) Trade relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States shall be upon the basis prescribed in section 6.

(6) The public debt of the Philippine Islands and its subordinate branches shall not exceed limits now or hereafter fixed by the Congress of the United States; and no loans shall be contracted in foreign countries without the approval of the President of the United States.

(7) The debts, liabilities, and obligations of the present Philippine government, its Provinces, municipalities, and instrumentalities, valid and subsisting at the time of the adoption of the constitution, shall be assumed and paid by the new government.

(8) Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of an adequate system of public schools, primarily conducted in the English language.

(9) Acts affecting currency, coinage, imports, exports, and immigration shall not become law until approved by the President of the United States.

(10) Foreign affairs shall be under the direct supervision and control of the United States.

(11) All acts passed by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be reported to the Congress of the United States.

(12) The Philippine Islands recognizes the right of the United States to expropriate property for public uses, to maintain military and

other reservations and armed forces in the Philippines, and, upon order of the President, to call into the service of such armed forces all military forces organized by the Philippine government.

(13) The decisions of the courts of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States as provided in paragraph (6) of section 7.

(14) The United States may, by Presidential proclamation, exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and for the maintenance of the government as provided in the constitution thereof, and for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty and for the discharge of government obligations under and in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

(15) The authority of the United States High Commissioner to the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, as provided in this Act, shall be recognized.

(16) Citizens and corporations of the United States shall enjoy in the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands all the civil rights of the citizens and corporations, respectively, thereof.

(b) The constitution shall also contain the following provisions, effective as of the date of the proclamation of the President recognizing the independence of the Philippine Islands, as hereinafter provided:

(1) That the property rights of the United States and the Philippine Islands shall be promptly adjusted and settled, and that all existing property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States shall be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded to the same extent as property rights of citizens of the Philippine Islands.

(2) That the officials elected and serving under the constitution adopted pursuant to the provisions of this Act shall be constitutional officers of the free and independent government of the Philippine Islands and qualified to function in all respects as if elected directly under such government, and shall serve their full terms of office as prescribed in the constitution.

(3) That the debts and liabilities of the Philippine Islands, its Provinces, cities, municipalities, and instrumentalities, which shall be valid and subsisting at the time of the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States, shall be assumed by the free and independent government of the Philippine Islands; and that where bonds have been issued under authority of an Act of Congress of the United States by the Philippine Islands, or any Province, city,

or municipality therein, the Philippine government will make adequate provision for the necessary funds for the payment of interest and principal, and such obligations shall be a first lien on the taxes collected in the Philippine Islands.

(4) That the government of the Philippine Islands, on becoming independent of the United States, will assume all continuing obligations assumed by the United States under the treaty of peace with Spain ceding said Philippine Islands to the United States.

(5) That by way of further assurance the government of the Philippine Islands will embody the foregoing provisions (except paragraph 2) in a treaty with the United States.

SUBMISSION OF CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 3. Upon the drafting and approval of the constitution by the constitutional convention in the Philippine Islands, the constitution shall be submitted within two years after the enactment of this Act to the President of the United States, who shall determine whether or not it conforms with the provisions of this Act. If the President finds that the proposed constitution conforms substantially with the provisions of this Act he shall so certify to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, who shall so advise the constitutional convention. If the President finds that the constitution does not conform with the provisions of this Act he shall so advise the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, stating wherein in his judgment the constitution does not so conform and submitting provisions which will in his judgment make the constitution so conform. The Governor General shall in turn submit such message to the constitutional convention for further action by them pursuant to the same procedure hereinbefore defined, until the President and the constitutional convention are in agreement.

SUBMISSION OF CONSTITUTION TO FILIPINO PEOPLE

SEC. 4. After the President of the United States has certified that the constitution conforms with the provisions of this Act, it shall be submitted to the people of the Philippine Islands for their ratification or rejection at an election to be held within four months after the date of such certification, on a date to be fixed by the Philippine Legislature, at which election the qualified voters of the Philippine Islands shall have an opportunity to vote directly for or against the

proposed constitution and ordinances appended thereto. Such election shall be held in such manner as may be prescribed by the Philippine Legislature, to which the return of the election shall be made. The Philippine Legislature shall by law provide for the canvassing of the return and shall certify the result to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, together with a statement of the votes cast, and a copy of said constitution and ordinances. If a majority of the votes cast shall be for the constitution, such vote shall be deemed an expression of the will of the people of the Philippine Islands in favor of Philippine independence, and the Governor General shall, within thirty days after receipt of the certification from the Philippine Legislature, issue a proclamation for the election of officers of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands provided for in the constitution. The election shall take place not earlier than three months nor later than six months after the proclamation by the Governor General ordering such election. When the election of the officers provided for under the constitution has been held and the results determined, the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall certify the results of the election to the President of the United States, who shall thereupon issue a proclamation announcing the results of the election, and upon the issuance of such proclamation by the President the existing Philippine government shall terminate and the new government shall enter upon its rights, privileges, powers, and duties, as provided under the constitution. The present government of the Philippine Islands shall provide for the orderly transfer of the functions of government.

If a majority of the votes cast are against the constitution, the existing government of the Philippine Islands shall continue without regard to the provisions of this Act.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY AND RIGHTS TO PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

SEC. 5. All the property and rights which may have been acquired in the Philippine Islands by the United States under the treaties mentioned in the first section of this Act, except such land or other property as has heretofore been designated by the President of the United States for Military and other reservations of the Government of the United States, and except such land or other property or rights or interests therein as may have been sold or otherwise disposed of in accordance with law, are hereby granted to the govern-

ment of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands when constituted.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES PENDING
COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

SEC. 6. After the date of the inauguration of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands trade relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands shall be as now provided by law, subject to the following exceptions:

(a) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all refined sugars in excess of fifty thousand long tons, and on unrefined sugars in excess of eight hundred thousand long tons, coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(b) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all coconut oil coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year in excess of two hundred thousand long tons, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(c) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all yarn, twine, cord, cordage, rope and cable, tarred or untarred, wholly or in chief value of manila (abaca) or other hard fibers, coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year in excess of a collective total of three million pounds of all such articles hereinbefore enumerated, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(d) In the event that in any year the limit in the case of any article which may be exported to the United States free of duty shall be reached by the Philippine Islands, the amount or quantity of such articles produced or manufactured in the Philippine Islands thereafter that may be so exported to the United States free of duty shall be allocated, under export permits issued by the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, to the producers or manufacturers of such articles proportionately on the basis of their exportation to the United States in the preceding year; except that in the case of unrefined sugar the amount thereof to be exported an-

nually to the United States free of duty shall be allocated to the sugar-producing mills of the islands proportionately on the basis of their average annual production for the calendar years 1931, 1932, and 1933, and the amount of sugar from each mill which may be so exported shall be allocated in each year between the mill and the planters on the basis of the proportion of sugar to which the mill and the planters are respectively entitled. The government of the Philippine Islands is authorized to adopt the necessary laws and regulations for putting into effect the allocation hereinbefore provided.

(e) The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall impose and collect an export tax on all articles that may be exported to the United States from the Philippine Islands free of duty under the provisions of existing law as modified by the foregoing provisions of this section, including the articles enumerated in subdivisions (a), (b), and (c), within the limitations therein specified, as follows:

(1) During the sixth year after the inauguration of the new government the export tax shall be 5 per centum of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on like articles imported from foreign countries;

(2) During the seventh year after the inauguration of the new government the export tax shall be 10 per centum of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on like articles imported from foreign countries;

(3) During the eighth year after the inauguration of the new government the export tax shall be 15 per centum of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on like articles imported from foreign countries;

(4) During the ninth year after the inauguration of the new government the export tax shall be 20 per centum of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on like articles imported from foreign countries;

(5) After the expiration of the ninth year after the inauguration of the new government the export tax shall be 25 per centum of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on like articles imported from foreign countries.

The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall place all funds received from such export taxes in a sinking

fund, and such funds shall, in addition to other moneys available for that purpose, be applied solely to the payment of the principal and interest on the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine Islands, its Provinces, municipalities, and instrumentalities, until such indebtedness has been fully discharged.

When used in this section in a geographical sense, the term "United States" includes all Territories and possessions of the United States, except the Philippine Islands, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the island of Guam.

SEC. 7. Until the final and complete withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands—

(1) Every duly adopted amendment to the constitution of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be submitted to the President of the United States for approval. If the President approves the amendment or if the President fails to disapprove such amendment within six months from the time of its submission, the amendment shall take effect as a part of such constitution.

(2) The President of the United States shall have authority to suspend the taking effect of or the operation of any law, contract, or executive order of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, which in his judgment will result in a failure of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands to fulfill its contracts, or to meet its bonded indebtedness and interest thereon or to provide for its sinking funds, or which seems likely to impair the reserves for the protection of the currency of the Philippine Islands, or which in his judgment will violate international obligations of the United States.

(3) The Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall make an annual report to the President and Congress of the United States of the proceedings and operations of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and shall make such other reports as the President or Congress may request.

(4) The President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a United States High Commissioner to the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands who shall hold office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall be known as the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands. He shall be the representative of the President of the United States in the Philippine Islands

and shall be recognized as such by the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, by the commanding officers of the military forces of the United States, and by all civil officials of the United States in the Philippine Islands. He shall have access to all records of the government or any subdivision thereof, and shall be furnished by the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands with such information as he shall request.

If the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands fails to pay any of its bonded or other indebtedness or the interest thereon when due or to fulfill any of its contracts, the United States High Commissioner shall immediately report the facts to the President, who may thereupon direct the High Commissioner to take over the customs offices and administration of the same, administer the same, and apply such part of the revenue received therefrom as may be necessary for the payment of such overdue indebtedness or for the fulfillment of such contracts. The United States High Commissioner shall annually, and at such other times as the President may require, render an official report to the President and Congress of the United States. He shall perform such additional duties and functions as may be delegated to him from time to time by the President under the provisions of this Act.

The United States High Commissioner shall receive the same compensation as is now received by the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, and shall have such staff and assistants as the President may deem advisable and as may be appropriated for by Congress, including a financial expert, who shall receive for submission to the High Commissioner a duplicate copy of the reports of the insular auditor. Appeals from decisions of the insular auditor may be taken to the President of the United States. The salaries and expenses of the High Commissioner and his staff and assistants shall be paid by the United States.

The first United States High Commissioner appointed under this Act shall take office upon the inauguration of the new government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

(5) The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall provide for the selection of a Resident Commissioner to the United States, and shall fix his term of office. He shall be the representative of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and shall be entitled to official recognition as such by all departments upon presentation to the President of credentials signed by the Chief Executive of said government. He shall have a

seat in the House of Representatives of the United States, with the right of debate, but without the right of voting. His salary and expenses shall be fixed and paid by the government of the Philippine Islands. Until a Resident Commissioner is selected and qualified under this section, existing law governing the appointment of Resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands shall continue in effect.

(6) Review by the Supreme Court of the United States of cases from the Philippine Islands shall be as now provided by law; and such review shall also extend to all cases involving the constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

SEC. 8.(a) Effective upon the acceptance of this Act by concurrent resolution of the Philippine Legislature or by a convention called for that purpose, as provided in section 17—

(1) For the purposes of the Immigration Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1924 (except section 13 c), this section, and all other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens, citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall be considered as if they were aliens. For such purposes the Philippine Islands shall be considered as a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty. This paragraph shall not apply to a person coming or seeking to come to the Territory of Hawaii who does not apply for and secure an immigration or passport visa, but such immigration shall be determined by the Department of the Interior on the basis of the needs of industries in the Territory of Hawaii.

(2) Citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall not be admitted to the continental United States from the Territory of Hawaii (whether entering such Territory before or after the effective date of this section) unless they belong to a class declared to be nonimmigrants by section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924 or to a class declared to be nonquota immigrants under the provisions of section 4 of such Act other than subdivision (c) thereof, or unless they were admitted to such Territory under an immigration visa. The Secretary of Labor shall by regulations provide a method for such exclusion and for the admission of such excepted classes.

(3) Any Foreign Service officer may be assigned to duty in the Philippine Islands, under a commission as a consular officer, for such period as may be necessary and under such regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, during which assignment such officer

shall be considered as stationed in a foreign country; but his powers and duties shall be confined to the performance of such of the official acts and notarial and other services, which such officer might properly perform in respect of the administration of the immigration laws if assigned to a foreign country as a consular officer, as may be authorized by the Secretary of State.

(4) For the purposes of sections 18 and 20 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as amended, the Philippine Islands shall be considered to be a foreign country.

(b) The provisions of this section are in addition to the provisions of the immigration laws now in force, and shall be enforced as a part of such laws, and all the penal or other provisions of such laws not inapplicable, shall apply to and be enforced in connection with the provisions of this section. An alien, although admissible under the provisions of this section, shall not be admitted to the United States if he is excluded by any provision of the immigration laws other than this section, and an alien, although admissible under the provisions of the immigration laws other than this section, shall not be admitted to the United States if he is excluded by any provision of this section.

(c) Terms defined in the Immigration Act of 1924 shall, when used in this section, have the meaning assigned to such terms in that Act.

SEC. 9. There shall be no obligation on the part of the United States to meet the interest or principal of bonds and other obligations of the government of the Philippine Islands or of the Provincial and municipal governments thereof, hereafter issued during the continuance of United States sovereignty in the Philippine Islands: *Provided*, That such bonds and obligations hereafter issued shall not be exempt from taxation in the United States or by authority of the United States.

RECOGNITION OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE AND WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY

SEC. 10. (a) On the 4th day of July immediately following the expiration of a period of ten years from the date of the inauguration of the new government under the constitution provided for in this Act the President of the United States shall by proclamation withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty then existing and exercised by the

United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippine Islands, including all military and other reservations of the Government of the United States in the Philippines (except such naval reservations and fueling stations as are reserved under section 5), and, on behalf of the United States, shall recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof, under the constitution then in force.

(b) The President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to enter into negotiations with the government of the Philippine Islands, not later than two years after his proclamation recognizing the independence of the Philippine Islands, for the adjustment and settlement of all questions relating to naval reservations and fueling stations of the United States in the Philippine Islands, and pending such adjustment and settlement the matter of naval reservations and fueling stations shall remain in its present status.

NEUTRALIZATION OF PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SEC. 11. The President is requested, at the earliest practicable date, to enter into negotiations with foreign powers with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippine Islands, if and when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

NOTIFICATION TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

SEC. 12. Upon the proclamation and recognition of the independence of the Philippine Islands, the President shall notify the governments with which the United States is in diplomatic correspondence thereof and invite said governments to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands.

TARIFF DUTIES AFTER INDEPENDENCE

SEC. 13. After the Philippine Islands have become a free and independent nation there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all articles coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands the rates of duty which are required to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from other foreign countries: *Provided*, That at least one year prior to the date fixed in this Act for the in-

dependence of the Philippine Islands, there shall be held a conference of representatives of the Government of the United States and the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, such representatives to be appointed by the President of the United States and the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, respectively, for the purpose of formulating recommendations as to future trade relations between the Government of the United States and the independent government of the Philippine Islands, the time, place, and manner of holding such conference to be determined by the President of the United States; but nothing in this proviso shall be construed to modify or affect in any way any provision of this Act relating to the procedure leading up to Philippine independence or the date upon which the Philippine Islands shall become independent.

IMMIGRATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

SEC. 14. Upon the final and complete withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands the immigration laws of the United States (including all the provisions thereof relating to persons ineligible to citizenship) shall apply to persons who were born in the Philippine Islands to the same extent as in the case of other foreign countries.

CERTAIN STATUTES CONTINUED IN FORCE

SEC. 15. Except as in this Act otherwise provided, the laws now or hereafter in force in the Philippine Islands shall continue in force in the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands until altered, amended, or repealed by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands or by the Congress of the United States, and all references in such laws to the government or officials of the Philippines or Philippine Islands shall be construed, insofar as applicable, to refer to the government and corresponding officials respectively of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands. The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be deemed successor to the present government of the Philippine Islands and of all the rights and obligations thereof. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, all laws or parts of laws relating to the present government of the Philippine Islands and its administration are hereby repealed as of the date of the inauguration of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

SEC. 16. If any provision of this Act is declared unconstitutional or the applicability thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the applicability of such provisions to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 17. The foregoing provisions of this Act shall not take effect until accepted by concurrent resolution of the Philippine Legislature or by a convention called for the purpose of passing upon that question as may be provided by the Philippine Legislature.

Approved, March 24, 1934.

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILIPPINES

*Adopted by the Philippine Constitutional Convention at the City of Manila,
Philippine Islands, on the Eighth Day of February, Nineteen Hun-
dred and Thirty-five*

The Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine Providence, in order to establish a government that shall embody their ideals, conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation, promote the general welfare, and secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of independence under a régime of justice, liberty, and democracy, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.

ARTICLE I

THE NATIONAL TERRITORY

SECTION 1. The Philippines comprises all the territory ceded to the United States by the treaty of Paris concluded between the United States and Spain on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, the limits of which are set forth in Article III of said treaty, together with all the islands embraced in the treaty concluded at Washington, between the United States and Spain on the seventh day of November, nineteen hundred, and in the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain on the second day of January, nineteen hundred and thirty, and all territory over which the present Government of the Philippine Islands exercises jurisdiction.

ARTICLE II

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

SECTION 1. The Philippines is a republican state. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.

SEC. 2. The defense of the State is a prime duty of government,

and in the fulfillment of this duty all citizens may be required by law to render personal military or civil service.

SEC. 3. The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy, and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as a part of the law of the Nation.

SEC. 4. The natural right and duty of parents in the rearing of the youth for civic efficiency should receive the aid and support of the Government.

SEC. 5. The promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people should be the concern of the State.

ARTICLE III

BILL OF RIGHTS

SECTION 1. (1) No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal protection of the laws.

(2) Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

(3) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, to be determined by the judge after examination under oath or affirmation of the complainant and the witnesses he may produce, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

(4) The liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits prescribed by law shall not be impaired.

(5) The privacy of communication and correspondence shall be inviolable except upon lawful order of the court or when public safety and order require otherwise.

(6) The right to form associations or societies for purposes not contrary to law shall not be abridged.

(7) No law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.

(8) No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, or

of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

(9) No law granting a title of nobility shall be enacted, and no person holding any office of profit or trust shall, without the consent of the National Assembly, accept any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any foreign state.

(10) No law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be passed.

(11) No *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder shall be enacted.

(12) No person shall be imprisoned for debt or nonpayment of a poll tax.

(13) No involuntary servitude in any form shall exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

(14) The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended except in cases of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, when the public safety requires it, in any of which events the same may be suspended wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

(15) No person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law.

(16) All persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except those charged with capital offenses when evidence of guilt is strong. Excessive bail shall not be required.

(17) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall be presumed to be innocent until the contrary is proved, and shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to secure the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

(18) No person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

(19) Excessive fines shall not be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

(20) No person shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment for the same offense. If an act is punished by a law and an ordinance, conviction or acquittal under either shall constitute a bar to another prosecution for the same act.

(21) Free access to the courts shall not be denied to any person by reason of poverty.

ARTICLE IV

CITIZENSHIP

SECTION 1. The following are citizens of the Philippines:

(1) Those who are citizens of the Philippine Islands at the time of the adoption of this Constitution.

(2) Those born in the Philippine Islands of foreign parents who, before the adoption of this Constitution, had been elected to public office in the Philippine Islands.

(3) Those whose fathers are citizens of the Philippines.

(4) Those whose mothers are citizens of the Philippines and, upon reaching the age of majority, elect Philippine citizenship.

(5) Those who are naturalized in accordance with law.

SEC. 2. Philippine citizenship may be lost or reacquired in the manner provided by law.

ARTICLE V

SUFFRAGE

SECTION 1. Suffrage may be exercised by male citizens of the Philippines not otherwise disqualified by law, who are twenty-one years of age or over and are able to read and write, and who shall have resided in the Philippines for one year and in the municipality wherein they propose to vote for at least six months preceding the election. The National Assembly shall extend the right of suffrage to women, if in a plebiscite which shall be held for that purpose within two years after the adoption of this Constitution, not less than three hundred thousand women possessing the necessary qualifications shall vote affirmatively on the question.

ARTICLE VI

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a National Assembly. The Members of the National Assembly shall not exceed one hundred and twenty, shall be chosen every three years, and shall be apportioned among the several provinces as nearly as may be according to the number of their respective inhabitants, but each province shall have at least one Member. The National Assembly shall by law make an apportionment within three years after

the return of every enumeration, and not otherwise. Until such apportionment shall have been made, the National Assembly shall consist of ninety-eight Members, of whom eighty-seven shall be elected by the representative districts as now provided by law; and three by the Mountain Province, and one by each of the other eight existing special provinces. The Members of the National Assembly in the provinces of Sulu, Lanao, and Cotabato shall be chosen as may be determined by law; in all other provinces they shall be elected by the qualified voters therein.

SEC. 2. No person shall be a Member of the National Assembly unless he has been five years a citizen of the Philippines, is at least thirty years of age, and, at the time of his election, a qualified elector, and a resident of the province in which he is chosen for not less than one year immediately prior to his election.

SEC. 3. (1) In case of vacancy in the National Assembly a special election may be called in the corresponding district, in the manner prescribed by law, but the Member thus elected shall serve only for the unexpired term.

(2) Elections for the National Assembly shall be held on the dates fixed by law.

(3) The National Assembly shall convene in regular session once every year, on the second Monday of the month immediately following that on which the election of its Members was held, unless a different date is fixed by law. The National Assembly may be called in special session at any time by the President to consider general legislation or only such subjects as he may designate. No special session shall continue longer than thirty days and no regular session longer than one hundred days, exclusive of Sundays.

(4) The National Assembly shall choose its Speaker, a secretary, a sergeant-at-arms, and such other officers as may be required. A majority of all the Members shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may compel the attendance of absent Members, in such manner and under such penalties as the National Assembly may provide.

(5) The National Assembly may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member. It shall keep a Journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in its judgment require secrecy; and the *yeas* and *nays* on any question shall, at the request of one-fifth of its Members present, be entered in the Journal.

SEC. 4. There shall be an Electoral Commission composed of three Justices of the Supreme Court designated by the Chief Justice, and of six Members chosen by the National Assembly, three of whom shall be nominated by the party having the largest number of votes, and three by the party having the second largest number of votes therein. The senior Justice in the Commission shall be its Chairman. The Electoral Commission shall be the sole judge of all contests relating to the election, returns, and qualifications of the Members of the National Assembly.

SEC. 5. The Members of the National Assembly shall, unless otherwise provided by law, receive an annual compensation of five thousand pesos each including per diems and other emoluments or allowances and exclusive only of travelling expenses to and from their respective districts when attending sessions of the National Assembly. No increase in said compensation shall take effect until after the expiration of the full term of the Members of the National Assembly elected subsequent to the approval of such increase. The Speaker of the National Assembly shall receive an annual compensation of sixteen thousand pesos until otherwise provided by law.

SEC. 6. The Members of the National Assembly shall in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the National Assembly, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate therein, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SEC. 7. The National Assembly shall elect from among its Members, on the basis of proportional representation of the political parties therein, a Commission on Appointments and a Commission on Impeachment, each to consist of twenty-one members. These Commissions shall be constituted within thirty days after the National Assembly shall have been organized with the election of its Speaker, and shall meet only while the National Assembly is in session, at the call of their respective Chairmen or a majority of their members, to discharge such powers and functions as are herein conferred upon them.

SEC. 8. (1) No Member of the National Assembly may hold any other office or employment in the Government without forfeiting his seat, nor shall any such Member during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office which may have been created or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased while he was a Member of the National Assembly.

(2) No Member of the National Assembly shall directly or indirectly be financially interested in any contract with the Government or any subdivision or instrumentality thereof, or in any franchise or special privilege granted by the National Assembly during his term of office; nor shall any such Member appear as counsel before the Electoral Commission or any court in any civil case wherein the Government or any subdivision or instrumentality thereof is the adverse party, or collect any fee for his appearance in any administrative proceedings or in any criminal case wherein an officer or employee of the Government is accused of an offense committed in relation to his office. No Member of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly shall appear as counsel before any court inferior to the Supreme Court.

SEC. 9. (1) The President shall submit within fifteen days of the opening of each regular session of the National Assembly a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the general appropriation bill. The National Assembly may not increase the appropriations recommended by the President for the operation of the Government as specified in the Budget, except the appropriations for the National Assembly and the Judicial Department. The form of the Budget and the information that it should contain shall be prescribed by law.

(2) No provision or enactment shall be embraced in the general appropriation, unless it relates specifically to some particular appropriation in the bill; and any such provision or enactment shall be limited in its operation to such appropriation.

SEC. 10. The heads of departments upon their own initiative or upon the request of the National Assembly may appear before and be heard by the National Assembly on any matter pertaining to their departments, unless the public interest shall require otherwise and the President shall so state in writing.

SEC. 11. (1) Every bill which shall have passed the National Assembly shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President. If he approve the same, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the National Assembly, which shall enter the objections at large on its Journal and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of all the Members of the National Assembly shall agree to pass the bill, it shall become a law. In all such cases the votes of the National Assembly shall be determined by *yeas* and *nays*, and the names of the Members voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal. If any

bill shall not be returned by the President as herein provided within twenty days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the National Assembly by adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall become a law unless vetoed by the President within thirty days after adjournment.

(2) The President shall have the power to veto any particular item or items of an appropriation bill, but the veto shall not affect the item or items to which he does not object. When a provision of an appropriation bill affects one or more items of the same, the President cannot veto the provision without at the same time vetoing the particular item or items to which it relates. The item or items objected to shall not take effect except in the manner heretofore provided as to bills returned to the National Assembly without the approval of the President. If the veto refers to a bill or any item of an appropriation bill which appropriates a sum in excess of ten *per centum* of the total amount voted in the appropriation bill for the general expenses of the Government for the preceding year, or if it should refer to a bill authorizing an increase of the public debt, the same shall not become a law unless approved by three-fourths of all the Members of the National Assembly.

(3) The President shall have the power to veto any separate item or items in a revenue or tariff bill, and the item or items vetoed shall not take effect except in the manner provided as to bills vetoed by the President.

SEC. 12. (1) No bill which may be enacted into law shall embrace more than one subject which shall be expressed in the title of the bill.

(2) No bill shall be passed or become a law unless it shall have been printed and copies thereof in its final form furnished the Members at least three calendar days prior to its passage by the National Assembly, except when the President shall have certified to the necessity of its immediate enactment. Upon the last reading of a bill no amendment thereof shall be allowed, and the question upon its final passage shall be taken immediately thereafter, and the *yeas* and *nays* entered on the Journal.

SEC. 13 (1) All money collected on any tax levied for a special purpose shall be treated as a special fund and paid out for such purpose only. If the purpose for which a special fund was created has been fulfilled or abandoned, the balance, if any, shall be transferred to the general funds of the Government.

(2) No money shall be paid out of the Treasury except in pursuance of an appropriation made by law.

(3) No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, sectarian institution, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary as such, except when such priest, preacher, minister, or dignitary is assigned to the armed forces or to any penal institution, orphanage, or leprosarium.

SEC. 14. (1) The rule of taxation shall be uniform.

(2) The National Assembly may by law authorize the President, subject to such limitations and restrictions as it may impose, to fix within specified limits, tariff rates, import or export quotas, and tonnage and wharfage dues.

(3) Cemeteries, churches, and parsonages or convents appurtenant thereto, and all lands, buildings, and improvements used exclusively for religious, charitable, or educational purposes shall be exempt from taxation.

SEC. 15. The National Assembly shall, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all its Members, have the sole power to declare war.

SEC. 16. In times of war or other national emergency, the National Assembly may by law authorize the President, for a limited period and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

ARTICLE VII

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the Philippines.

SEC. 2. The President shall hold his office during a term of six years, and together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, shall be elected by direct vote of the people. The election returns for President and Vice-President, duly certified by the board of canvassers of each province, shall be transmitted to the National Assembly. Upon receipt of such returns the National Assembly shall forthwith, in public session, count the votes, and proclaim the persons elected President and Vice-President. The persons respectively having the highest number of votes for President and Vice-President shall be declared elected, but in case two or more shall have an equal and the highest number of votes for either office,

the National Assembly shall, by a majority vote of all its Members, elect one of said persons as President or Vice-President.

SEC. 3. No person may be elected to the office of President or Vice-President, unless he be a natural-born citizen of the Philippines, a qualified voter, forty years of age or over, and has been a resident of the Philippines for at least ten years immediately preceding the election.

SEC. 4. No person elected President may be reëlected for the following term, nor shall the Vice-President or any other person who may have succeeded to the office of President as herein provided at least one year before the election, be eligible to the office of President at such election.

SEC. 5. Elections for President and Vice-President shall be held once every six years on a date to be fixed by the National Assembly.

SEC. 6. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the thirtieth day of December following the expiration of six years after their election, and the terms of their successors shall begin from such time.

SEC. 7. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President shall act as President until a President shall have qualified, and the National Assembly may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SEC. 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, the President shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill my duties as President of the Philippines, preserve and defend its Constitution, execute its laws, do justice to every man, and consecrate myself to the service of the Nation. So help me God.” (In case of affirmation, last sentence will be omitted.)

SEC. 9. In the event of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and

duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the National Assembly shall by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SEC. 10. The President shall have an official residence and receive a compensation to be ascertained by law which shall be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Government or any of its subdivisions or instrumentalities. Until the National Assembly shall provide otherwise, the President shall receive an annual salary of thirty thousand pesos. The Vice-President, when not acting as President, shall receive an annual compensation of fifteen thousand pesos until otherwise provided by law.

SEC. 11. (1) The President shall have control of all the executive departments, bureaus, or offices, exercise general supervision over all local governments as may be provided by law, and take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

(2) The President shall be commander-in-chief of all armed forces of the Philippines and, whenever it becomes necessary, he may call out such armed forces to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, or rebellion. In case of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, he may suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law.

(3) The President shall nominate and with the consent of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly, shall appoint the heads of the executive departments and bureaus, officers of the Army from the rank of colonel, of the Navy and air forces from the rank of captain or commander, and all other officers of the Government whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and those whom he may be authorized by law to appoint; but the National Assembly may by law vest the appointment of inferior officers, in the President alone, in the courts, or in the heads of departments.

(4) The President shall have the power to make appointments during the recess of the National Assembly, but such appointments shall be effective only until disapproval by the Commission on Appointments or until the next adjournment of the National Assembly.

(5) The President shall from time to time give to the National Assembly information of the state of the Nation, and recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

(6) The President shall have the power to grant reprieves, commutations, and pardons, and remit fines and forfeitures, after conviction, for all offenses, except in cases of impeachment, upon such conditions and with such restrictions and limitations as he may deem proper to impose. He shall have the power to grant amnesty with the concurrence of the National Assembly.

(7) The President shall have the power, with the concurrence of a majority of all the Members of the National Assembly, to make treaties, and with the consent of the Commission on Appointments, he shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls. He shall receive ambassadors and other ministers duly accredited to the Government of the Philippines.

SEC. 12. (1) The executive departments of the present Government of the Philippine Islands shall continue as now authorized by law until the National Assembly shall provide otherwise.

(2) The heads of departments and chiefs of bureaus or offices and their assistants shall not, during their continuance in office, engage in the practice of any profession, or intervene, directly or indirectly, in the management or control of any private enterprise which in any way may be affected by the functions of their office; nor shall they, directly or indirectly, be financially interested in any contract with the Government, or any subdivision or instrumentality thereof.

(3) The President may appoint the Vice-President as a member of his cabinet and also as head of an executive department.

ARTICLE VIII

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. The Judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as may be established by law.

SEC. 2. The National Assembly shall have the power to define, prescribe, and apportion the jurisdiction of the various courts, but may not deprive the Supreme Court of its original jurisdiction over cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, nor of its jurisdiction to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm on appeal, certiorari, or writ of error, as the law or the rules of court

may provide, final judgments and decrees of inferior courts in—

(1) All cases in which the constitutionality or validity of any treaty, law, ordinance, or executive order or regulation is in question.

(2) All cases involving the legality of any tax, impost, assessment, or toll, or any penalty imposed in relation thereto.

(3) All cases in which the jurisdiction of any trial court is in issue.

(4) All criminal cases in which the penalty imposed is death or life imprisonment.

(5) All cases in which an error or question of law is involved.

SEC. 3. Until the National Assembly shall provide otherwise, the Supreme Court shall have such original and appellate jurisdiction as may be possessed and exercised by the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands at the time of the adoption of this Constitution. The original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court shall include all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls.

SEC. 4. The Supreme Court shall be composed of a Chief Justice and ten Associate Justices and may sit either *in banc* or in two divisions unless otherwise provided by law.

SEC. 5. The members of the Supreme Court and all judges of inferior courts shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the Commission on Appointments of the National Assembly.

SEC. 6. No person may be appointed member of the Supreme Court unless he has been five years a citizen of the Philippines, is at least forty years of age, and has for ten years or more been a judge of a court of record or engaged in the practice of law in the Philippines.

SEC. 7. No judge appointed for a particular district shall be designated or transferred to another district without the approval of the Supreme Court. The National Assembly shall by law determine the residence of judges of inferior courts.

SEC. 8. The National Assembly shall prescribe the qualifications of judges of inferior courts, but no person may be appointed judge of any such courts unless he is a citizen of the Philippines and has been admitted to the practice of law in the Philippines.

SEC. 9. The members of the Supreme Court and all judges of inferior courts shall hold office during good behavior, until they reach the age of seventy years, or become incapacitated to discharge the duties of their office. They shall receive such compensation as may be fixed by law, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. Until the National Assembly shall provide

otherwise, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall receive an annual compensation of sixteen thousand pesos, and each Associate Justice, fifteen thousand pesos.

SEC. 10. All cases involving the constitutionality of a treaty or law shall be heard and decided by the Supreme Court *in banc*, and no treaty or law may be declared unconstitutional without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of the Court.

SEC. 11. The conclusions of the Supreme Court in any case submitted to it for decision shall be reached in consultation before the case is assigned to a Justice for the writing of the opinion of the Court. Any Justice dissenting from a decision shall state the reasons for his dissent.

SEC. 12. No decision shall be rendered by any court of record without expressing therein clearly and distinctly the facts and the law on which it is based.

SEC. 13. The Supreme Court shall have the power to promulgate rules concerning pleading, practice, and procedure in all courts, and the admission to the practice of law. Said rules shall be uniform for all courts of the same grade and shall not diminish, increase, or modify substantive rights. The existing laws on pleading, practice, and procedure are hereby repealed as statutes, and are declared Rules of Courts, subject to the power of the Supreme Court to alter and modify the same. The National Assembly shall have the power to repeal, alter, or supplement the rules concerning pleading, practice, and procedure, and the admission to the practice of law in the Philippines.

ARTICLE IX

IMPEACHMENT

SECTION 1. The President, the Vice-President, the Justices of the Supreme Court, and the Auditor General, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, culpable violation of the Constitution, treason, bribery, or other high crimes.

SEC. 2. The Commission on Impeachment of the National Assembly, by a vote of two-thirds of its Members, shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The National Assembly shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose the Members shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the Philippines is on trial, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall preside. No

person shall be convicted without the concurrence of three-fourths of all the Members who do not belong to the Commission on Impeachment.

SEC. 4. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the Government of the Philippines, but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to prosecution, trial, and punishment, according to law.

ARTICLE X

GENERAL AUDITING OFFICE

SECTION. 1. There shall be a General Auditing Office under the direction and control of an Auditor General, who shall hold office for a term of ten years and may not be reappointed. The Auditor General shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the Commission on Appointments, and shall receive an annual compensation to be fixed by law which shall not be diminished during his continuance in office. Until the National Assembly shall provide otherwise, the Auditor General shall receive an annual compensation of twelve thousand pesos.

SEC. 2. The Auditor General shall examine, audit, and settle all accounts pertaining to the revenues and receipts from whatever source, including trust funds derived from bond issues; and audit, in accordance with law and administrative regulations, all expenditures of funds or property pertaining to or held in trust by the Government or the provinces or municipalities thereof. He shall keep the general accounts of the Government and preserve the vouchers pertaining thereto. It shall be the duty of the Auditor General to bring to the attention of the proper administrative officer expenditures of funds or property which, in his opinion, are irregular, unnecessary, excessive, or extravagant. He shall also perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. The decisions of the Auditor General shall be rendered within the time fixed by law, and the same may be appealed to the President whose action shall be final. When the aggrieved party is a private person or entity, an appeal from the decision of the Auditor General may be taken directly to a court of record in the manner provided by law.

SEC. 4. The Auditor General shall submit to the President and the National Assembly an annual report covering the financial con-

dition and operations of the Government, and such other reports as may be required.

ARTICLE XI

CIVIL SERVICE

SECTION 1. A Civil Service embracing all branches and subdivisions of the Government shall be provided by law. Appointments in the Civil Service, except as to those which are policy-determining, primarily confidential or highly technical in nature, shall be made only according to merit and fitness, to be determined as far as practicable by competitive examination.

SEC. 2. Officers and employees in the Civil Service, including members of the armed forces, shall not engage directly or indirectly in partisan political activities or take part in any election except to vote.

SEC. 3. No officer or employee of the Government shall receive additional or double compensation unless specifically authorized by law.

SEC. 4. No officer or employee in the Civil Service shall be removed or suspended except for cause as provided by law.

ARTICLE XII

CONSERVATION AND UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

SECTION. 1. All agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines belong to the State, and their disposition, exploitation, development, or utilization shall be limited to citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least sixty *per centum* of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, subject to any existing right, grant, lease, or concession at the time of the inauguration of the Government established under this Constitution. Natural resources, with the exception of public agricultural land, shall not be alienated, and no license, concession, or lease for the exploitation, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources shall be granted for a period exceeding twenty-five years, renewable for another twenty-five years, except as to water rights for irrigation, water supply, fisheries, or industrial uses other than the development

of water power, in which cases beneficial use may be the measure and the limit of the grant.

SEC. 2. No private corporation or association may acquire, lease, or hold public agricultural lands in excess of one thousand and twenty-four hectares, nor may any individual acquire such lands by purchase in excess of one hundred and forty-four hectares, or by lease in excess of one thousand and twenty-four hectares, or by homestead in excess of twenty-four hectares. Lands adapted to grazing, not exceeding two thousand hectares, may be leased to an individual, private corporation, or association.

SEC. 3. The National Assembly may determine by law the size of private agricultural land which individuals, corporations, or associations may acquire and hold, subject to rights existing prior to the enactment of such law.

SEC. 4. The National Assembly may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of lands to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to individuals.

SEC. 5. Save in cases of hereditary succession, no private agricultural land shall be transferred or assigned except to individuals, corporations, or associations qualified to acquire or hold lands of the public domain in the Philippines.

SEC. 6. The State may, in the interest of national welfare and defense, establish and operate industries and means of transportation and communication, and, upon payment of just compensation, transfer to public ownership utilities and other private enterprises to be operated by the Government.

ARTICLE XIII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SECTION 1. The flag of the Philippines shall be red, white, and blue, with a sun and three stars, as consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law.

SEC. 2. All public officers and members of the armed forces shall take an oath to support and defend the Constitution.

SEC. 3. The National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages.

SEC. 4. The State shall promote scientific research and invention.

Arts and letters shall be under its patronage. The exclusive right to writings and inventions shall be secured to authors and inventors for a limited period.

SEC. 5. All educational institutions shall be under the supervision of and subject to regulation by the State. The Government shall establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, and shall provide at least free public primary instruction, and citizenship training to adult citizens. All schools shall aim to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency, and to teach the duties of citizenship. Optional religious instruction shall be maintained in the public schools as now authorized by law. Universities established by the State shall enjoy academic freedom. The State shall create scholarships in arts, science, and letters for specially gifted citizens.

SEC. 6. The State shall afford protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, and shall regulate the relations between landowner and tenant, and between labor and capital in industry and in agriculture. The State may provide for compulsory arbitration.

SEC. 7. The National Assembly shall not, except by general law, provide for the formation, organization, or regulation of private corporations, unless such corporations are owned or controlled by the Government or any subdivision or instrumentality thereof.

SEC. 8. No franchise, certificate, or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or other entities organized under the laws of the Philippines, sixty *per centum* of the capital of which is owned by citizens of the Philippines, nor shall such franchise, certificate, or authorization be exclusive in character or for a longer period than fifty years. No franchise or right shall be granted to any individual, firm, or corporation, except under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the National Assembly when the public interest so requires.

SEC. 9. The Government shall organize and maintain a national police force to preserve public order and enforce the law.

SEC. 10. This Constitution shall be officially promulgated in English and Spanish, but in case of conflict the English text shall prevail.

ARTICLE XIV

AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1. The National Assembly, by a vote of three-fourths of all its Members, may propose amendments to this Constitution or call a convention for that purpose. Such amendments shall be valid as part of this Constitution when approved by a majority of the votes cast at an election at which the amendments are submitted to the people for their ratification.

ARTICLE XV

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

SECTION. 1. The first election of the officers provided in this Constitution and the inauguration of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall take place as provided in Public Act Numbered One hundred and twenty-seven of the Congress of the United States, approved March twenty-four, nineteen hundred and thirty-four.

SEC. 2. All laws of the Philippine Islands shall continue in force until the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines; thereafter, such laws shall remain operative, unless inconsistent with this Constitution, until amended, altered, modified, or repealed by the National Assembly, and all references in such laws to the Government or officials of the Philippine Islands shall be construed, in so far as applicable, to refer to the Government and corresponding officials under this Constitution.

SEC. 3. All courts existing at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall continue and exercise their jurisdiction, until otherwise provided by law in accordance with this Constitution, and all cases, civil and criminal, pending in said courts, shall be heard, tried, and determined under the laws then in force.

SEC. 4. All officers and employees in the existing Government of the Philippine Islands shall continue in office until the National Assembly shall provide otherwise, but all officers whose appointments are by this Constitution vested in the President shall vacate their respective offices upon the appointment and qualification of their successors, if such appointment is made within a period of one year from the date of the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

SEC. 5. The Members of the National Assembly for the Mountain Province shall be elected as may be provided by law. The voters of municipalities and municipal districts formerly belonging to a special province and now forming part of regular provinces shall vote in the election for Members of the National Assembly in such districts as may be provided by law.

SEC. 6. The provisions of this Constitution, except those contained in this article and in Article V, and those which refer to the election and qualifications of officers to be elected under this Constitution, shall not take effect until the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

ARTICLE XVI

SPECIAL PROVISIONS EFFECTIVE UPON THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PHILIPPINES

SECTION 1. Upon the proclamation of the President of the United States recognizing the independence of the Philippines—

(1) The property rights of the United States and the Philippines shall be promptly adjusted and settled, and all existing property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States shall be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded to the same extent as property rights of citizens of the Philippines.

(2) The officials elected and serving under this Constitution shall be constitutional officers of the free and independent government of the Philippines and qualified to function in all respects as if elected directly under such Government, and shall serve their full terms of office as prescribed in this Constitution.

(3) The debts and liabilities of the Philippines, its provinces, cities, municipalities, and instrumentalities, which shall be valid and subsisting at the time of the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States, shall be assumed by the free and independent government of the Philippines; and where bonds have been issued under authority of an Act of Congress of the United States by the Philippine Islands, or any province, city, or municipality therein, the Government of the Philippines will make adequate provision for the necessary funds for the payment of interest and principal, and such obligations shall be a first lien on all taxes collected.

(4) The Government of the Philippines will assume all continuing obligations of the United States under the Treaty of Peace with Spain ceding the Philippine Islands to the United States.

(5) The Government of the Philippines will embody the foregoing provisions of this article (except subsection 2) in a treaty with the United States.

ARTICLE XVII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE REPUBLIC

SECTION 1. The government established by this Constitution shall be known as the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Upon the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States and the proclamation of Philippine independence, the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall henceforth be known as the Republic of the Philippines.

ORDINANCE APPENDED TO THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing Constitution, pending the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippines—

(1) All citizens of the Philippines shall owe allegiance to the United States.

(2) Every officer of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall, before entering upon the discharge of his duties, take and subscribe an oath of office, declaring, among other things, that he recognizes and accepts the supreme authority of and will maintain true faith and allegiance to the United States.

(3) Absolute toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured and no inhabitant or religious organization shall be molested in person or property on account of religious belief or mode of worship.

(4) Property owned by the United States, cemeteries, churches, and parsonages or convents appurtenant thereto, and all lands, buildings, and improvements used exclusively for religious, charitable, or educational purposes shall be exempt from taxation.

(5) Trade relations between the Philippines and the United States shall be upon the basis prescribed in section six of Public Act Numbered One hundred and twenty-seven of the Congress of the United States approved March twenty-four, nineteen hundred and thirty-four.

(6) The public debt of the Philippines and its subordinate branches shall not exceed limits now or hereafter fixed by the Congress of the

United States, and no loans shall be contracted in foreign countries without the approval of the President of the United States.

(7) The debts, liabilities, and obligations of the present Government of the Philippine Islands, its provinces, municipalities, and instrumentalities, valid and subsisting at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be assumed and paid by the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

(8) The Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall establish and maintain an adequate system of public schools, primarily conducted in the English language.

(9) Acts affecting currency, coinage, imports, exports, and immigration shall not become law until approved by the President of the United States.

(10) Foreign affairs shall be under the direct supervision and control of the United States.

(11) All acts passed by the National Assembly of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall be reported to the Congress of the United States.

(12) The Philippines recognizes the right of the United States to expropriate property for public uses, to maintain military and other reservations and armed forces in the Philippines, and, upon order of the President of the United States, to call into the service of such armed forces all military forces organized by the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

(13) The decisions of the courts of the Philippines shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States as now provided by law, and such review shall also extend to all cases involving the Constitution of the Philippines.

(14) Appeals from decisions of the Auditor General may be taken to the President of the United States.

(15) The United States may, by Presidential proclamation, exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and for the maintenance of the Government as provided in the Constitution thereof, and for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty and for the discharge of Government obligations under and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

(16) The authority of the United States High Commissioner to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines as provided in Public Act Numbered One hundred and twenty-seven of

the Congress of the United States approved March twenty-four, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, is hereby recognized.

(17) Citizens and corporations of the United States shall enjoy in the Commonwealth of the Philippines all the civil rights of the citizens and corporations, respectively, thereof.

(18) Every duly adopted amendment to the Constitution of the Philippines shall be submitted to the President of the United States for approval. If the President approve the amendment or if the President fail to disapprove such amendment within six months from the time of its submission, the amendment shall take effect as a part of such Constitution.

(19) The President of the United States shall have authority to suspend the taking effect of or the operation of any law, contract, or executive order of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, which in his judgment will result in a failure of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines to fulfill its contracts, or to meet its bonded indebtedness and interest thereon or to provide for its sinking funds, or which seems likely to impair the reserves for the protection of the currency of the Philippines, or which in his judgment will violate international obligations of the United States.

(20) The President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall make an annual report to the President and Congress of the United States of the proceedings and operations of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and shall make such other reports as the President or Congress may request.

SEC. 2. Pending the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippines, there shall be a Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States who shall be appointed by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines with the consent of the Commission on Appointments. The powers and duties of the Resident Commissioner shall be as provided in section seven, paragraph five of Public Act Numbered One hundred and twenty-seven of the Congress of the United States, approved March twenty-four, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, together with such other duties as the National Assembly may determine. The qualifications, compensation, and expenses of the Resident Commissioner shall be fixed by law.

SEC. 3. All other provisions of Public Act Numbered One hundred and twenty-seven of the Congress of the United States, ap-

proved March twenty-four, nineteen hundred and thirty-four, applicable to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines are hereby made a part of this Ordinance as if such provisions were expressly inserted herein.

I hereby certify that this Constitution was adopted by the Constitutional Convention on February 8, 1935.

(Sgd.) CLARO M. RECTO
President, Constitutional Convention

ATTEST:

(Sgd.) N. PIMENTEL
Secretary, Constitutional Convention

APPENDIX III

THE LAST MESSAGE OF THE LAST GOVERNOR-GENERAL

*Delivered by Hon. Frank Murphy to the Philippine Legislature in its
Final Session, November 14, 1935*

Gentlemen of the Legislature:

Today we are completing another chapter in American-Filipino relations. Upon issuance by the President tomorrow of a proclamation announcing the results of the recent national election, in accordance with section four of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the office of Governor-General of the Philippine Islands will come to an end. This legislative body likewise will pass into history. The charter of our authority known as the Jones Act, granted by the United States Congress in 1916, under whose liberal and beneficent provisions the Philippine people have governed and been governed for nearly two decades—this great charter of liberal government will terminate. In its place a new charter of government, a constitution framed by the representatives of the Philippine people themselves in pursuance of authority granted by the United States Congress, and a new form of government constituted thereunder, will come into operation. At such a time it seems fitting for us to pause a few moments before final adjournment, to consider the situation of our government and review briefly the significant events and forces that have shaped our course until the present hour.

Under the auspices of the Spanish Empire of the sixteenth century, the foremost nation of Europe, rich, cultured, and powerful, western civilization was brought to the Philippines in the year 1564. During three centuries and a half that followed, the people of these Islands received the impress of a great Spanish culture and become indoctrinated with the Christian religion. Through devout Spanish churchmen and administrators, the Filipino people became familiar with the institutions and customs and moral conceptions of the western world.

When American civil administrators came to the Islands in 1900 to assume the task that had been commenced by the army forces, they found not only the beginnings of an American school system, with soldiers in the rôle of teachers. They found a people that was prepared to benefit by the privileges and advantages that were to be offered to them under the American system of government. They found a quality akin to their own. For here was a people that already had revolted against oppressive rule and attempted to set up an independent republic. The events that preceded the truce of Biacna-bato help to explain the remarkable early success of the American experiment with democracy in these islands beyond the distant seas.

While to many persons the odds seemed to be heavily against success of the venture, it was almost inevitable that a people nurtured as the American people were in the political philosophy that had produced the Declaration of Independence, with its emphasis on freedom and equality, and had evolved the American constitutions based on the presumed right and capacity of the common people to govern themselves—it was inevitable that such a people should seek to implant these doctrines and principles of government in the new territory that had been committed to their control. For democracy as conceived and expressed in these great documents, and as the American people had received it from their fathers, was something more than a method of government. It was a passionate political faith. It was a faith in the natural capacities and inherent possibilities of the common man, in his essential worth and dignity. In the scheme of democracy, as in the code of Christianity, all men were on a common level of dignity and importance. In this sense, as stated by a great political philosopher of my own state, Christianity and democracy were twin-born. They provide for the common men, without distinction of race or clime, a way of salvation from forces of oppression and greed and selfishness.

Having found democracy good for herself, America believed it was good for the people of the Philippines. With a faith and passion like that which enabled their Spanish predecessors to establish throughout the land the practice of the Christian religion, the early American administrators and their devoted co-workers in the field of education undertook to educate and train the people of these Islands in the principles and technique of self-government, taking for their keynote and guide the memorable instructions issued by President McKinley in April, 1900.

EDUCATION

If with their simple and sincere faith in the principles by which they had won their own independence and founded their governments, the American people failed to realize fully the nature and difficulty of the mission they were undertaking, they understood clearly that for its successful practice and permanent enjoyment, democratic government required and educated and informed citizenry. This understanding and conviction were as strong as they had been one hundred years earlier, when the framers of the great Ordinance of 1787 enacted for the government of the so-called northwest territory, stated that "religion, morality, and knowledge being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

In similar vein, President McKinley directed that the Commission "should regard as of *first importance* the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community." In its first proclamation to the people of the Philippines in 1899 the First Philippine Commission declared the establishment of elementary schools and appropriate facilities for higher education to be of cardinal importance in the American program for the Islands.

No people ever accepted the blessings of education with more enthusiasm than the Filipinos. Like the Americans, they saw that the road to self-government lies through the school-house. The United States Army began the establishment of modern schools in 1898, and within a year more than 4,500 primary pupils were enrolled in Manila alone. The foundations for the permanent educational system of the country were laid by the Philippine Commission in January, 1901. One of its first acts provided for the appointment of more than 1,000 American teachers. Some of the members of this original group of educational pioneers are still in the Philippines. The splendid and devoted work of these and thousands of others who followed them has been a credit to their country and of immeasurable value to the Filipino people.

Although a system of primary public schools was provided for by Royal Spanish decree in 1863, few Filipino children were being educated at public expense at the end of the Spanish régime. Today about two-thirds of all Filipino children of primary-school age (seven to

ten) are enrolled in the first four grades of the public schools. Total public-school enrollment in March, 1935, was 1,204,485 pupils. They are taught in 7,680 schools, staffed by 27,120 teachers and administrators. In 1934 total expenditure for public education amounted to nearly twenty-three million pesos. This included more than 20 per cent of the total expenditures of the central government for all purposes.

Although the burden of popular education in the Philippines, as elsewhere, has been borne mainly by the state, 97,500 pupils are enrolled in private educational institutions recognized by the Philippine Government and operated under government supervision. Those that meet certain definite standards are accredited by the state and are articulated with the public educational system. Among these are the oldest and some of the best institutions of learning in the Philippines.

No agency of the state has been more effective than the public schools in the creation of a strong consciousness of Philippine nationality and the development of a sense of civic responsibility. The English language is now spoken in every barrio in the archipelago by people of all ranks of life. The schools have been an important factor and effective instrument in the improvement of the health of the people. The offices of the Government and of private business have been almost completely staffed with competent Filipinos trained in the public schools. The standards of efficiency in agriculture, commerce, and industry have been raised and the wealth of the country increased by the efforts of vocationally trained citizens. Professional and technical education has been placed upon a high plane, and our own institutions of higher learning are now supplying the country with specially trained men capable of meeting its technical and scientific needs. The Bureau of Science, the University of the Philippines, and some of the older private institutions, besides providing opportunities for general and specialized high education, are making distinguished contributions to the common fund of human knowledge. Through the National Research Council, founded and supported as an agency of the state, the direct aid of the government has been placed behind scientific research.

Further expansion of the school facilities of the Philippines is primarily a financial problem. Insular appropriations for school purposes probably cannot be greatly increased during the next few years, and in the present financial condition of the provinces and municipalities, no large increase in their school expenditures may be expected. Further substantial progress toward the goal of universal, free primary

education apparently must depend upon and follow an increase in the taxable wealth of the country.

Within the limited financial resources of the country, however, the educational system that has been developed in the Philippines is successfully serving the fundamental needs of the nation. The schools, colleges, and universities of the country have become effective means for the intellectual development and self-expression of the people—in the extension of general culture, and in civic, vocational, and professional education. The people of this country know that an educated citizenry is indispensable to the existence of a free, democratic, progressive state. I am confident that they will continue to press forward to the educational goals that were set a generation ago, and will not fail to support their schools to the limit of their resources, as an indispensable instrument in their national development. This determination has been written into the Constitution they have adopted as the supreme law of the future Philippine nation.

PUBLIC WORKS

Important as education is, however, in building the structure of strong national life, other elements were needed. Roads and transportation facilities and public works were required to develop trade and commerce, and to promote understanding and coöperation between communities and groups. The revenues of the state have been liberally and profitably employed in this direction, bringing to isolated communities the advantages of easy communication and the conveniences of modern civilization.

When the Americans came, nothing remained of the old Spanish road system but 990 miles of right of way, impassable in the rainy season and available for travel in the dry season only to a very limited extent.

Today the Philippines has 9,057.6 kilometers of first class roads; 4,831.1 kilometers of second class; 2,009.4 kilometers of trails or a total of 20,826 kilometers (12,912.12 miles) of roads and trails representing an investment of ₱240,000,000.

There were 2,600 bridges and culverts in existence when Civil Government under American sovereignty was started; 5,500 others have been added at an expenditure of ₱25,000,000, including such notable bridges as the Gilbert Bridge at Laoag, the Quirino Bridge spanning the Abra, the Plaridel Bridge in Pangasinan, and the General Luna Bridge at Cabanatuan.

With the advent of the American régime, there was inaugurated the construction of schools, hospitals, municipal buildings, and provincial capitols. In Manila we have the Legislative Building, Post Office, Executive Building, Philippine General Hospital, Bureau of Science, College of Medicine, Insular Psychopathic Hospital, Philippine Normal School and Dormitory, Pandacan Research Library, Ice Plant, and University of the Philippines. In the provinces the fine capitol buildings of Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, Pangasinan, Batangas, Tayabas, Leyte, and Occidental Negros are worthy of special mention. From the beginning of the American régime to date ₱98,891,285 have been spent in the construction of public buildings.

During the Spanish régime, the only important water-supply system was the Carriedo System, now part of the Manila Metropolitan Water System. In the old days water for domestic use was secured by means of jars, buckets and tin cans from shallow wells, springs, rivers, and lakes, and from impounded rainwater from roofs.

Up to 1911 the American Army had completed 13 water systems, which later were improved and are now furnishing water to the towns where the systems are located. Excluding the Metropolitan Water System of Manila, there have been completed up to December 31, 1934, 288 municipal and provincial water-supply systems, 19 extensions and 10 improvements, furnishing potable water to a population of 1,008,918 at a cost of ₱12,184,106.50. The most important systems constructed are:

1. Metropolitan Water System of Manila, including filtration plant.
2. The Vigan (Singson) Waterworks, Ilocos Sur.
3. Ilocos Norte Metropolitan Waterworks.
4. Camarines Sur Metropolitan Waterworks.
5. Zamboanga Waterworks.
6. Cebu Metropolitan Waterworks.
7. Iloilo Metropolitan Waterworks.
8. Lucena-Tayabas-Pagbilao Waterworks in Tayabas.

Prior to 1898 and up to the early part of 1904, no artesian wells had been constructed in the Philippines. The first was drilled by the Bureau of Public Works at Engineer Island in December, 1904. From then until September 30, 1935, 2,390 successful artesian wells have been drilled in towns, barrios, and sitios throughout the Islands, at a total cost of ₱5,611,315.44, supplying approximately 3,000,000 people with pure water.

Irrigation was known in the Philippines even prior to 1521, as

evidenced by the wonderful rice terraces of Northern Luzon. Under the initiative of Spanish priests 27,700 hectares of rice land were placed under irrigation at an estimated cost of ₱6,000,000. To this the American régime has added irrigating systems for 83,200 hectares at a cost of ₱18,647,000. To these must be added private systems built during the past twenty-five years irrigating 604,000 additional hectares, and bringing the grand total of irrigated land up to 715,000 hectares, a great advance over the 27,700 hectares of the Spanish régime.

Of the port works in use today, only the old river walls and a very short part of the north breakwater at Manila were built prior to 1898. During the past 35 years ₱75,000,000 have been devoted to construction and improvement at nearly 100 ports throughout the Islands, ranging from the breakwater, sheltered harbor, and modern piers at Manila to simple landings for small coasters at isolated towns.

There is reflected in all this an earnestness of purpose in the American stewardship, and a capacity on the part of the Filipino people to build and enjoy better things. The Filipino people can continue to have them only if the tax burden is levied equitably, paid cheerfully, and spent wisely for the good of the people as a whole.

INTERISLAND SHIPPING

Before American occupation there was very little interisland shipping. Seven days after the fall of Manila the Manila Custom-house was established. It was apparent that there should be a larger number of ships in the coastwise service, to strengthen the newly established civil government and better conditions for farmers in all sections of the Islands. In March, 1902, 196 ports were opened to interisland traffic. There being no government funds available for subsidies, and few capitalists and merchants willing to invest in shipping, Act 520 was passed in November, 1902, throwing open coastwise trade to foreign vessels without restriction until July, 1904. A growing tendency towards nationalization of the coastwise shipping industry culminated in Act 3084 passed in March, 1923, which provides that only vessels of domestic ownership may engage in the coastwise trade. Foreign firms which had engaged in the trade before 1904 were allowed to continue but were prohibited from adding any new ships.

Prior to December, 1927, interisland service was mediocre. Fixed schedules were not maintained, and the service was uncertain and unsatisfactory. With the passage of Act No. 3418 the jurisdiction of

the Public Utility Commission over routes was withdrawn. This led to free competition, acceleration of service, and the entry of new ships into the field. The commerce of the Islands has steadily increased from about ₱68,000,000 in 1899 to over ₱350,000,000 in 1934. Goods amounting to such a sum must be moved expeditiously.

An important factor in the development of this commerce has been the steady improvement of ports. Beginning with the construction of sea-walls and small wooden docks in Manila, Iloilo and Cebu, a program of portworks has received generous support from the government. The result has been that all the important seaports from Aparri to Sulu have been improved, with Manila the outstanding example of what can be done in this line.

Between 1916 and 1926 there were many losses due to shipwrecks, etc. An annual inspection by the Bureau of Customs was instituted, improving the seaworthiness of the ships. The development of the interisland shipping to its present level of efficiency is a notable and vital achievement for a people largely dependent upon the sea for their channels of trade.

The most populous sections of the Philippines, Central Luzon and Cebu, have been given the advantage of efficient railroad facilities for a number of years, and commercial automobile traffic has closely followed the improvement in highways.

AVIATION MAKES AUSPICIOUS START

Very recently the first chapters of Philippine aviation history have been written. Private enterprise has pioneered and has demonstrated the practicability of air communication. A country of more than 7,000 islands offers a great field for this most modern development in transportation, and the past several years have shown results which hold great promise for the future.

Thousands of miles have been flown commercially, on regular schedules, north to Baguio, and south to Iloilo and Cebu, and only the other day regular service was extended to Davao in Mindanao.

At present there are some forty landing fields throughout the Islands, twenty of which have been constructed by the Philippine Government. This work is progressing as rapidly as possible, so that within a year every town of the Philippines will be within a day's trip from Manila. Great credit is due to the Air Corps of the United States Army and in particular to the enthusiastic interest and support of Major General Frank Parker for the recent acquisition and con-

struction of landing fields at strategic points. In addition, the Air Corps has made exhaustive surveys and has drawn up plans for a system of air routes covering the entire archipelago.

Within a few days we shall hail the first trans-Pacific flight by the Pan-American Airways, which will mark the beginning of a new epoch of travel and communication between the Philippines and the rest of the world.

PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY

In recent months reforms have been inaugurated in the Philippine Constabulary, bringing the organization to a high state of efficiency. With the coöperation of the legislature, which appropriated the necessary funds, the force has been increased from 400 officers and 5,047 men to its present strength of 549 officers and 8,512 enlisted men. Two signal companies, two chemical-welfare companies, and one howitzer company have been organized. Twelve machine guns and several Thompson sub-machine guns have been acquired. At the same time it has been put upon a solid basis of promotions and rewards on merit only. The Filipino people and their American sponsors have every reason to feel pride and confidence in the Philippine Constabulary as it exists today. It is not an arm of war, but an agency of law and order, and our goal during the past two years and a half has been to make it a unit reasonably adequate to the needs of peace in the Islands. This, I am firmly convinced, has been achieved, and my only injunction in this connection is that this goal be kept clearly and steadfastly in mind.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic progress in the Philippines has justified the hopes of those who set out thirty-five years ago to train a people for nationhood on the principles enunciated by the far-seeing revolutionaries of 1776. Building on a foundation of enlightened altruism, America has consummated an achievement without parallel in the annals of colonial administration.

The early American government found the Philippines with a meager and inadequate economy. The total of foreign trade was less than ₱100,000,000 a year. Imports exceeded exports and the balance of trade, both visible and invisible, was seriously against the Islands. Internal trade was seriously restricted and Philippine economy was essentially that of the village. The country was almost wholly

agricultural. Industrial development and improvement were negligible. Even in the field of agriculture, the necessity of importing a considerable fraction of the principal item of diet, consisting of rice, attested the inadequacy of the national economy. It is estimated that probably less than 5 per cent of the land area was under any form of cultivation.

By successive steps the Government proceeded to build a larger and surer economy and obtain a wider distribution of the growing wealth. In 1902, a discount of 25 per cent from the regular United States tariff rates was granted. In 1909, free trade was set up with mild restrictions. In 1913 unlimited free trade was established. In the years that followed, American import duties on foreign goods competing with Philippine goods were successively raised.

Today at the end of thirty-five years of economic growth, the foreign trade of the Philippines is running approximately P400,000,000 annually—more than fourfold as compared with trade in 1901. Even the invisible items of trade have turned in favor of the Islands. Trade with America has acquired so favorable a position that it has offset for many years with a favorable balance the negative balances with all oriental and most European countries with which the Philippines trades.

The population has more than doubled. Land under cultivation has increased nearly threefold. The rice problem has been solved, and during the past few years the Islands have been all but self-sufficient in cereal requirements. Should necessity arise, the cattle-raising industry has made it possible to supply all of our meat. The production of abaca and tobacco has more than doubled. Corn has increased fourfold, rice fivefold, lumber and forest products sixfold, sugar sixfold. Copra production has increased ninefold, and mineral production has risen from a negligible position to one that is commanding the respect of the world.

Formerly all our products left our shores in raw state, or as nearly so as conditions of transport allowed. Today nearly half our copra is converted into oil; practically all our sugar is carried to 96 degrees or more; our tobacco goes forth as cigars and a respectable fraction of our abaca leaves as rope. The sound first steps of industrial development have been taken in the form of maximum elaboration of our agricultural products.

This economic advance has not been made on the basis of exploitation. A share of the profit has been passed all the way down the line, resulting in the highest labor wage in the Orient. Philippine labor has

been preserved, guided, and trained to a degree of competence of which we are proud. The public domain has not been exploited. Large estate grants—a sore spot in other days—have not been tolerated. The natural inheritance of the Filipino as the owner of his fatherland has not been violated. The Filipino has been encouraged to enter the professions. No door has been closed, no reasonable want has been denied him.

But what does it signify, this gaining of a better economy, if the chief aim of government is the well-being of the people generally? Is it merely crass materialism, or has it improved and enriched the life and spirit of the generality of men and women? The public benefits that have accrued from the wealth created during the last thirty-five years are too numerous to catalogue fully. A few may be sketched:

1. Higher standards of diet, clothing, and housing have lifted the Filipino laborer far above the level on which he formerly lived.
2. State funds have been provided out of which railroads, highways, bridges, and ports have been brought into useful being.
3. State payrolls make possible the highest average salary for government employees and the largest number per capita to be found in the Orient or tropics.
4. Private capital is available for investment in sugar mills, oil mills, stores and offices, land and houses, capital that has been used to modernize the old industries and create new ones.
5. Less tangible but equally important are the acquirement of better health, wider education, and higher scientific and artistic culture, and all the calling of advancing social standards, which come with an expanding and diffused economy.

GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED COMPANIES GAIN

All government-owned companies showed decided gains during the past two years with the exception of the Manila Railroad Company, which has suffered loss due to optional currency clauses in its 4 per cent Southern Lines bonds and the reduction of freight volume. The Manila Hotel Company showed a net profit of ₱122,652.89 for the year 1934 as against a nominal profit of only ₱500.19 for the preceding year. The Cebu Portland Cement Company continued its profitable operation with a net profit of ₱432,510.68 as compared with ₱268,483.73 for the year 1933.

The Philippine National Bank had a profit of ₱3,931,266.90 as compared with ₱3,153,759.21 in 1933. This favorable showing has been continued in 1935, the first nine months of which show a profit of ₱3,060,244.07. These profits include recoveries of charged-off

items, and have been accomplished despite the lowering of interest rates on all classes of paper.

The profits of the Philippine National Bank are not the true measure of its service to the people of these Islands. It provides service in many ways. As a depository of the government it serves the country as a whole. The facilities of the bank have been extended to the remote districts, and at all of these places it provides facilities for a safe depository for funds, for exchanging checks for cash, for sending drafts for collection, and extending loans to small farmers and merchants.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

The Philippines has led during the American occupation all other oriental countries in progress made in health and welfare. Epidemics are controlled; pandemics are definitely of the past; commerce is no longer impeded by quarantine and other restrictions necessary to prevent the spread of disease; new measures have been inaugurated by the government to improve the living conditions of the poor and to protect those economically distressed from the ravages of disease.

As a typical example, I refer particularly to the construction during the past two years of a modern water filtration plant for the City of Manila. It is significant of the progress which had been made that Manila, a tropical city, is thus provided with a water supply which is not excelled in purity by that of any other city in the world. The prevalence of water-borne diseases in the City of Manila has already been reduced, and there is no doubt that the pure water now available for the inhabitants of Manila will be an important factor in the continued improvement in the public health of the city.

Today the insular government operates eighty hospitals having 4,402 beds, and more than 1,000 dispensaries. During the past two years special attention has been devoted to the care of the insane and the mentally defective. Government facilities for the institutional treatment of insane patients have been doubled, and many of the unfortunates who formerly wandered at large or were confined in jails now receive proper care. During the past year we have revised the standard of care of the insane and perfected our administrative methods to conform to the best practices in this field. Also, during the past year we have set up a school for mentally defective children at Welfareville where they can be trained, guided, and given the opportunity to become useful citizens.

Within the last two years we have developed new approach to health and social work in the Philippines. The modern conception of government supervision of all matters relating to the welfare of the public has been put into actual practice, and the Philippine Government has assumed full and complete responsibility for the relief of public distress due to any cause, whether it be social maladjustment, economic conditions, disaster, or sickness.

The problem of providing medical care for the people of the barrios and the congested districts of the cities and towns is being met by a public health nursing service which is being extended to the more remote communities. Only within the last year we have placed two hundred and fifty additional nurses in this work. Traveling clinics, which are in fact mobile hospitals, are now being employed to reach the isolated villages of the Mountain Province.

In the overcrowded areas and slum districts of Manila and the larger towns we have established social services for the poor, the distressed, and the underprivileged. Greatly increased protection for the health and the welfare of children and the mothers of the slums has been thus provided. Methods of improving the housing of the poor have been adopted on a basis which will permit of continued progress.

Since 1933 the best the Western world has to offer in public welfare service has been inaugurated here and been eagerly adopted by the Filipino people. A well-grounded, long-time program of health and social services has been established. If persistently developed over a period of years, it will be an important factor in the success of the Commonwealth Government. A widespread social consciousness has been aroused among the officials and the people of the towns and barrios. I cannot overemphasize the importance of sustaining this social consciousness through the years to come. I trust that all of us who have been responsible will make continued efforts along these lines and will consider ourselves to be trustees charged with preserving these services and making them more and more progressive and with seeing that there is no stagnation and above all no backward movement.

The present Government of the Philippine Islands may take just pride in its adoption of the humanitarian principles of government responsibility to ameliorate distress among our helpless people due to any cause, whether it be social maladjustment, economic conditions, disaster, or sickness.

BUREAU OF SCIENCE

The Bureau of Science, organized in 1901 as the Bureau of Government Laboratories, and taking its present name in 1905, has been of inestimable assistance in the progress achieved here. At first concerned almost wholly in protection against disease, it did magnificent work and for many years there has been no possibility of such major disasters as the outbreak of cholera that occurred in 1902, continuing for two years and taking the lives of nearly 100,000 people. In fact it can be said that cholera, bubonic plague, dysentery, and malaria are under control.

The Bureau is tireless in its efforts to assist in improving the general health of the people, in its researches to develop natural resources, and in its coöperation with and helpfulness toward industry.

Thanks to the bureau, copra production has become doubly profitable through elimination of wasteful methods, and similar assistance to the sugar industry has produced additional millions. The bureau has assisted factories making paints, varnishes, cement, and other industrial products from local raw materials; it has conducted experiments in the field of ceramics; aided materially in conservation of fish and game; in development of the mineral resources of the Islands; in improvement of crops, forestry, and tropical plants, and in general has made a place for itself in the very heart and marrow of the economic life of the people.

The Bureau is a research institute of extreme value. Its international reputation is deserved, and it is one of the greatest legacies that the new Philippine Commonwealth will inherit from the American régime.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

In the administration of justice, there are outstanding milestones erected by the joint efforts of Americans and Filipinos, that reflect the genius of American institutions and the capacity of the Filipino people to absorb and apply democratic principles of government.

Before the galleons of Magellan touched these shores, the native laws were mostly based on usages and ancestral customs. The penalties for violations of penal laws were severe and cruel.

Spain did much to modernize the administration of justice in the Islands. The Spanish Penal Code was implanted here. A Supreme Court, courts of first instance in the provinces, and justice of the peace courts in the municipalities were established. Individual liberty,

however, was hemmed in by a multitude of restrictions which resulted in many injustices, especially to the common people.

One of the first acts of American rule was the organization of a judicial system, and in the Philippine Bill of 1902, Congress implanted in these Islands the same guaranties of constitutional and individual liberty that are found in the United States Constitution with the exception of the right to keep and bear arms and the system of trial by jury. A reorganization of the courts was effected and orderly procedure was provided for the trial of cases. In all criminal prosecutions, a speedy and public trial was guaranteed to the accused; his right to bail, to compulsory process of obtaining witnesses in his favor, to be assisted by counsel, and not to be compelled to be a witness against himself, was expressly recognized.

Today, we have a modern system of courts and judicial procedure. Conscientious efforts have been exerted during the last thirty-five years to guarantee to the people of these Islands a fair and impartial administration of justice. In line with this policy, there has been introduced recently a far-reaching innovation in the selection of judges. I refer to the organization of the Judicial Council, which has been functioning satisfactorily. Properly guided and directed, this Judicial Council should insure to the people of these Islands the appointment of competent judges selected primarily on merit.

In the field of penology, there have been introduced changes intended to aid the accused and to ameliorate the condition of those convicted by the courts of justice. I refer to the law providing for public defenders, the indeterminate sentence law, and the law creating the probation office which is now being organized.

Since the indeterminate sentence law went into effect in January, 1934, there has been marked improvement in the behavior and morale of prisoners. During the twenty-two months of its effectiveness, 645 prisoners have been given parole. Of those only three have violated their parole. The probation system, which will soon be in operation, will complement the indeterminate sentence law. We have every reason to expect that these two institutions will be found eminently suited to the social conditions of these Islands, because the spiritual side of the Filipino character is especially receptive to the benign idea of reform.

CULTURAL DESTINIES

The cultural prospects of the Filipino people are full of promise. The racial and cultural differences of the Philippine population have

been unduly exaggerated. Evidence is strong that there is building up in these Islands a true general Philippine culture around which future development will revolve. A blending of diverse elements in the population has been going on continuously for 2,000 years, and has been especially rapid during the Spanish and American periods due to the greater peace and order and freer communication.

The increasing homogeneity in the population is not a mere altruistic hope. There is strong scientific basis for holding that seemingly discordant and non-fusible elements not only can be but are *being* fused. From the time of Dr. Jose Rizal down to the present the opinion has been held by many American and Filipino authorities that among the non-Christian population are elements that constitute a strong asset for the future Philippines.

The pagan, Moro, and other non-Christian peoples possess essentially the same racial traits and innate psychology as the majority of the inhabitants of the Christian provinces. Investigations of Professor Beyer and others show that the Filipino blend type is developing steadily in all parts of the Islands—regardless of linguistic, religious, and cultural differences. Such studies forecast the steady growth of an harmonious and blended Filipino race that will one day be characteristic throughout the Islands.

On the cultural side, there will be need for much patient and tolerant consideration in dealing with the pagan and non-Christian groups. A policy of gradual education and improvement of economic conditions, however, will eventually bring about cultural amalgamation—and develop a strong and unified Philippine population.

GOVERNMENTAL FINANCE

This gratifying and remarkable expansion in the natural economy is reflected also in the parallel story of governmental finances. Let us look at a few figures. Excluding bond issues, the total revenues in all funds of the Central Government in 1901 amounted to ₱21,532,490. They rose to a high peak of ₱92,783,173.70 in the boom year of 1929. In the last fiscal year (1934) they totaled ₱78,674,751.33.

Provincial revenues increased during the same period from ₱2,410,437.16 to ₱24,385,978.07 in 1934, reaching an all-time high of ₱30,889,071.38 in 1930.

In municipal and city governments, revenues increased from

₱10,059,546.58 in 1906 to ₱36,509,794.48 in 1934, with a high figure in 1929 of ₱44,881,945.92.

With the two chartered cities included, total public revenues in the Islands grew from ₱48,772,193.21 in 1910 to ₱119,792,900.38 in 1934.

These large levies on the public and their industries have in large measure been returned to them or preserved in the form of increasing public services and valuable fixed properties owned by the government. The permanent investments of the Central Government alone in real property and equipment and other forms, have a cost value of ₱267,800,493.23 as of December 31, 1934.

Interesting as they are, these matters are perhaps of less immediate importance and concern to us at the present moment than the current financial condition of the government. In all funds of the Central Government on December 31, 1934, there was a surplus of more than seventy-five million pesos (₱75,179,189.42), as compared with less than nine and one-half million pesos (₱9,331,582.85) on June 30, 1901. In the general fund alone there was a current surplus of approximately thirty-seven million pesos (₱36,900,492.19) on December 31, 1934. Of this amount a substantial portion was cash in the governmental depositories. The excess of cash over recorded obligations and liabilities was almost seventeen million pesos (₱16,881,497.41) as of December 31, 1934. In addition to this approximately ₱30,000,000 awaits clearance in Washington and will soon be paid into the Philippine treasury from excise taxes levied and collected on coconut oil under a recent act of Congress, which will leave our general fund in the strongest position of our history.

The bonded debt of the Central Government and its subdivisions is not excessive. At the end of 1934 it stood at slightly more than one hundred and sixty million pesos (₱160,364,700), but with sinking funds totaling more than sixty millions (₱60,895,286.55), the net bonded indebtedness is slightly less than one hundred million pesos (₱99,469,413.45). The Manila Railroad Company, whose stock is wholly owned by the government, also has a net bonded debt after sinking fund of ₱48,856,424.14. Interest on bonds of the Philippine Railway Company, amounting to ₱17,098,000, is guaranteed by the Central Government until July, 1937.

Philippine Public Finances are sound. In some respects they might well excite the envy of many of the large nations of the world today. In the Central Government for the past two and three-quarter years,

expenditures from all funds have been considerably less than the current revenues accruing to those funds. Our budget is balanced, in fact as well as in form.

The surplus of the Central Government should be jealously guarded. It may be difficult to borrow externally at advantageous rates of interest. Lack of large local capital accumulations limits the possibilities of internal loans. While the governmental bonded debt is not excessive and is being properly serviced, major financial problems exist in the bonded indebtedness of our railroads, and in the pension funds of the government wherein liabilities are steadily accruing without adequate provision to meet them. Those pension funds at present are not actually sound and a government policy for their rehabilitation should be instituted without delay. Several provinces are financially weak. Ordinary and recurring normal expenditures for the national defense will tax government resources severely. Continuing demands may be expected for concessions to delinquent taxpayers, and the prospects of increasing revenues are not favorable without extreme measures that might curtail business and investment activities.

It would seem wise, therefore, to keep the present surplus intact as the proper reserve for a government of the position and size of the Philippine Government. Extraordinary and non-recurring accretions should be recognized and treated as windfalls that will not be repeated. Let us look well to cut within our financial cloth. In our present economy and environment, the safe course for this government is to keep its budget in balance and its current expenditures within current income. Without a sound financial position and a program of sound public finance, the most essential and fundamental functions of government are handicapped and may be completely paralyzed. No governmental activity comes ahead of an orderly financial program.

In closing this subject I should like to repeat the exhortation contained in my first address to the Philippine people:

The first duty of such a government (this government), in order of statement if not of importance, is to conduct its own business on a sound and orderly basis, efficiently and economically, giving a peso in actual service for every peso of income. It must carefully budget its expenditures so that they will not exceed its revenue or dissipate the public resources in unnecessary services or activities. For the time being we must have recourse to uncompromising economy in spending. The public debt also must be kept within proper and conservative limits. This result will be assured

by the preparation of a careful program and strict and rigid adherence to it by all the departments of the government. A budget is valuable only if, and when, expenditures are kept within it. Together we will make a stubborn stand against the unwholesome practice of allowing deficits to creep into our balance sheets.

The present sound and satisfactory state of governmental finances, with budgets balanced and substantial reserves at hand, is clear indication that an honest effort has been made to practice what we have preached.

POLITICAL PROGRESS

With the development we have been tracing in the fields of economics and finance, communication and education, science and hygiene, political development has kept pace. The Philippine public gradually attained an understanding of the theory and processes of popular government, and acquired experience in its practice. This was according to the plans conceived and formulated by the first American administrators. Small beginnings had been made in Spanish times, with a limited right of suffrage and the privilege of electing municipal and barrio officials. Municipalities became autonomous in 1901. Provincial boards came under popular control in 1905. Two years later the first national legislative assembly was inaugurated. Filipinos were taking rapidly to the ways and methods of American democracy.

The next step was the Jones Act in 1916, under which we have operated until today. Within the short space of sixteen years, the Filipino people had qualified themselves to the satisfaction of the American Congress for exclusive control of the legislative branch of their government. In large measure they had justified the great American faith in the inherent capacity of people to govern themselves, given equal advantages of education and training. The administration of justice also was gradually placed in the hands of the Filipinos. Although the executive branch until now has been under American direction and control, actual administration during recent years has been largely in Philippine hands. The recent extension of equal suffrage to women was a notable contribution by the Philippine Legislature to democratic progress.

In this steady advance in the art of democratic and constitutional government, toward the ultimate goal of complete independence, the crowning event has been the framing and adoption by the Philippine

people, under the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, of a permanent constitution for their government. This admirable document, with its guaranties of representative government and freedom for the individual citizen, is eloquent proof of the success of our policies and the soundness of our political faith.

Under the stipulation of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, by voting the adoption of this Constitution, the Filipino people themselves definitely and freely decided the matter of independence. This Act was fundamentally a product of the political idealism and unselfishness of the American people. It was the generous act of a generous people. If some adjustments should appear desirable to alleviate unnecessary hardships, we may be confident that the American Congress will not refuse to consider them. With full warning, however, and understanding of the inconvenience and risk and hardship that may be entailed by their separation from the United States, the Filipino people have definitely and gladly assumed the conditions and responsibilities and have adhered to the course that leads ultimately to full sovereignty and independence.

America has kept faith with her political principles and has been true to her origins. Putting aside considerations of empire and self-interest, with deep understanding of the strong yearning of a people for political freedom, acknowledging the right of a people to self-determination when supported by demonstrated understanding of constitutional self-government and evidence of capacity to sustain it, the United States has accepted the decision that has been made here, and is prepared to surrender its trusteeship. In good time this will be done.

Material progress is dearly bought and of little worth when obtained at the price of exploitation and suppression of a people's patrimony and liberty and their individual initiative. The record of America cannot be told merely in terms of public revenues and economic production. Things more precious in the life of a people are the preservation of racial integrity and culture, the enlargement of human liberty, the cultivation of a spirit of adventure and initiative. Those priceless qualities, so essential in the building of a nation, have been permitted to grow and flourish by the liberal and farseeing policies that have guided the administration of Philippine affairs by American authorities. With these elements of character and mutual toleration of differences in religious faith, aided by a favorable geographical grouping and freedom from deep racial conflicts, the

Philippines, under wise and patient and just leadership, may become a strong and united nation.

So we have come to this present hour. Through the idealistic policies of her statesmen, McKinley, Root and Taft, and Wilson and Roosevelt, supplemented by the conscientious and devoted service of her representatives in these islands, and the strong friendship and sympathy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the political faith of America has flowered and is nearing fruition. Free education, constitutional principles, freedom of conscience and opinion, material progress, economic development, stable finances, responsible government—those essentials of a sound and enduring democracy have been established in the land.

A splendid chapter in Philippine history, in which this body under able leaders has played a distinguished part, is now coming to a close. With a large and growing population, expanding industry and agriculture, easy communication and increasing wealth, a government financially stable and sound, an enlightened press, and an informed and patriotic citizenry, the sinews of statehood and the elements of a strong national life have been provided. We place in the hands of our successors a rich estate, a high trust, and a glorious privilege to preserve and administer this government that we have built together upon the faith and confidence of the American people.

Another chapter remains to be written before the record is complete, and the mission accomplished. To assure its success a further period of adjustment has been provided, under the protection and guidance of United States authority. Retaining full rights of sovereignty, with appropriate functions and authority vested in the President and other agencies for the protection of its legitimate interests under the Independence Act, the United States Government is now entrusting direct management of domestic affairs to the newly elected representatives of the Philippine people—the President and members of the National Assembly.

Their success and the success of the Commonwealth will rest not upon the fine hopes and enthusiasm of this moment. It will require deep and abiding loyalty to the principles of sound finance and social justice, freedom from measures that are selfish and oppressive, steadfast devotion to the ideals and principles of democracy. The personal aspect of government must be minimized. All officials should be humble before the majesty of the law. Above personal success and personal loyalty, the good citizen and true patriot will place the su-

premacy of the law, duty to the State, and devotion to the public good and welfare.

This great and happy venture of the American and Filipino people is not yet ended. With an altered framework and broader autonomy, the Philippine Government goes on under the American flag, with the full confidence and support of the people and Government of the United States. As in all good books of high adventure and romance, we close this chapter anticipating the next, confident that the Divine Author will bring the story to a fair ending in accordance with the faith and high purpose of its beginning.

APPENDIX IV

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MANUEL L. QUEZON

Delivered on November 15, 1935

Fellow Countrymen:

In the exercise of your constitutional prerogative you have elected me to the presidency of the Commonwealth. I am profoundly grateful for this new expression of your confidence, and God helping me I shall not fail you.

The event which is now taking place in our midst transcends in importance the mere induction into office of your Chief Executive. We are bringing into being a new nation. We are inaugurating its government. We are seeing the fruition of our age-old striving for liberty. We are witnessing the final stage in the fulfilment of the noblest undertaking ever attempted by any nation in its dealing with a subject people. And how well this task has been performed is attested to by the blessings which from fourteen million people go to America in this solemn hour. President McKinley's cherished hope has been fulfilled—the Filipinos look back with gratitude to the day when Destiny placed their land under the beneficent guidance of the people of the United States.

It is fitting that high dignitaries of the American Government should attend these ceremonies. We are thankful to them for their presence here. The President of the United States, His Excellency, Franklin D. Roosevelt, ever solicitous of our freedom and welfare, has sent to us, as his personal representative, the Secretary of War, Honorable George H. Dern, whose friendship for our people has proven most valuable in the past. Vice President Garner, Speaker Byrns, distinguished members of the Senate with their floor leader, Senator Robinson, and no less distinguished members of the House of Representatives have traveled ten thousand miles to witness this historic event. I feel that by their presence the whole American Nation is here today to rejoice with us in the fulfilment of America's pledge generously given that the Filipino people is to become free and independent. It is my hope that the ties of friendship and affection which

bind the Philippines to America will remain unbroken and grow stronger after the severance of our political relations with her.

In behalf of the Filipino people, I express deep appreciation to Honorable Frank Murphy, our last Governor-General, for his just and efficient administration and for the valuable assistance he has rendered us in the difficult task of laying the constitutional foundations of our new Government.

As we enter upon the threshold of independent nationhood, let us pause for a moment to pay tribute to the memory of Rizal and Bonifacio and all the heroes of our sacred cause, in deep acknowledgment of their patriotic devotion and supreme sacrifice.

Fellow countrymen: The Government which we are inaugurating today is only a means to an end. It is an instrumentality placed in our hands to prepare ourselves fully for the responsibilities of complete independence. It is essential that this last step be taken with full consciousness of its significance and the great opportunities that it affords to us.

Under the Commonwealth, our life may not be one of ease and comfort, but rather of hardship and sacrifice. We shall face the problems which lie in our path, sparing neither time nor effort in solving them. We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient and strong so that the foundations of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring—a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but also the exacting demands of the future. We do not have to tear down the existing institutions in order to give way to a statelier structure. There will be no violent changes from the established order of things, except such as may be absolutely necessary to carry into effect the innovations contemplated by the Constitution. A new edifice shall arise, not out of the ashes of the past, but out of the standing materials of the living present.

Reverence for law as the expression of the popular will is the starting point in a democracy. The maintenance of peace and public order is the joint obligation of the government and the citizen. I have an abiding faith in the good sense of the people and in their respect for law and the constituted authority. Widespread public disorder and lawlessness may cause the downfall of constitutional government and lead to American intervention. Even after independence, if we should prove ourselves incapable of protecting life, liberty and property of nationals and foreigners, we shall be exposed to the danger of intervention by foreign powers. No one need have any misgivings as to the attitude of the Government toward lawless individuals or sub-

versive movements. They shall be dealt with firmly. Sufficient armed forces will be maintained at all times to quell and suppress any rebellion against the authority of this Government or the sovereignty of the United States.

There can be no progress except under the auspices of peace. Without peace and public order it will be impossible to promote education, improve the condition of the masses, protect the poor and ignorant against exploitation, and otherwise insure the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. I appeal, therefore, to every Filipino to give the Government his loyal support so that the tranquillity may reign supreme in our beloved land.

Our Constitution establishes an independent judiciary by providing for security of tenure and compensation of our judges. But independence is not the only objective of a good judiciary. Equally, if not more important, is its integrity, which will depend upon the judicious selection of its members. The administration of justice cannot be expected to rise higher than the moral and intellectual standards of the men who dispense it. To bulwark the fortification of an orderly and just government, it shall be my task to appoint to the bench only men of proven honesty, character, learning and ability, so that every one may feel when he appears before the courts of justice that he will be protected in his rights, and that no man in this country from the Chief Executive to the last citizen is above the law.

We are living today amidst the storm and stress of one of the most tragic epochs of history. Acute unemployment and economic distress threaten the stability of governments the world over. The very foundations of civilized society are shaken. The common man alone can save humanity from disaster. It is our duty to prove to him that under a republican system of government he can have every opportunity to attain his happiness and that of his family. Protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labor and capital in industry and agriculture, solicitous regard on the part of the government for the well-being of the masses, are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society.

A government draws the breath of life from its finances, and must balance its income and expenditures as any other going business concern if it expects to survive. It is my duty, then, to see that the Government of the Commonwealth live within its means and that it stand four-square on a well-balanced budget.

The larger expenditures which the grave responsibilities ahead of

us will entail, including national defense, must be borne by taxation. So long as we are able to meet those responsibilities from our present income we shall not impose new taxes. But we are among the least taxed people in the world and, therefore, when necessity arise, we should be willing to accept the burden of increased taxation. Liberty and independence can be possessed only by those who are ready to pay the price in life or fortune.

To enable us more adequately to meet the new responsibilities of the Commonwealth and to raise the living conditions of our people, we must increase the wealth of the Nation by giving greater impetus to economic development, improving our methods of agriculture, diversifying our crops, creating new industries, and fostering our domestic and foreign commerce. I trust that the forthcoming trade conference between representatives of the United States and the Philippines will result in a more just and beneficial commercial relation between the two countries.

The establishment of an economical, simple and efficient government; the maintenance of an independent civil service; the implantation of an adequate system of public instruction to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and vocational efficiency; the safeguarding of the health and vigor of the race; the conservation and development of our natural resources—these and other matters of equal import are touched upon at length in the platform of the Coalition and in my speech of acceptance of my nomination, and it is unnecessary for me to reiterate my views regarding them. Having been elected on the virtuality of that platform and the policies enunciated by me in the course of the presidential campaign, I renew my pledge faithfully to carry them into execution.

Good will towards all nations shall be the golden rule of my administration. The peoples of the earth are interdependent and their prosperity and happiness are inseparably linked with each other. International brotherhood and coöperation are therefore necessary. Amity and friendship, fairness and square deal in our relations with other nations and their citizens or subjects, protection in their legitimate investments and pursuits, in return for their temporary allegiance to our institutions and laws, are the assurances I make on behalf of the new Government to Americans and foreigners who may desire to live, trade and otherwise associate with us in the Philippines.

In the enormous task of fully preparing ourselves for independence we shall be beset with serious difficulties, but we will resolutely march forward. I appeal to your patriotism and summon your nobility of

heart so that we may, united in the common endeavor, once more dedicate ourselves to the realization of our national destiny. I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding Hand. May He give me light, strength, and courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people!

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